

UṬṬAṆKITA SANSKRIT VIDYĀ ARANYA EPIGRAPHS

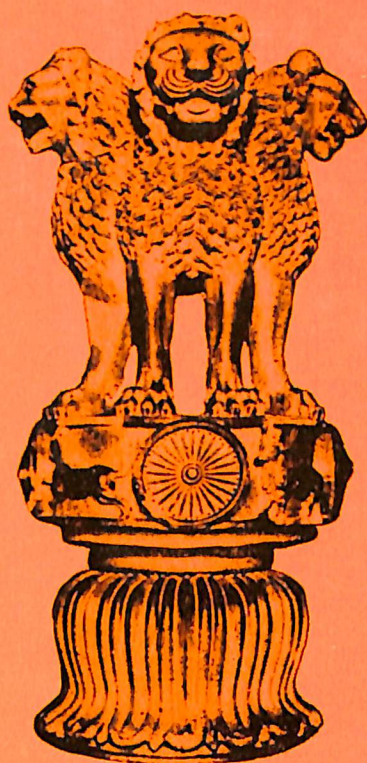
VOLUME II

PRĀKRIT AND SANSKRIT EPIGRAPHS

257 B.C. to 320 A.D.

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UṬṬAṆKITA SANSKRIT VIDYĀ ARĀṆYA EPIGRAPHS

VOLUME II
PRĀKRIT AND SANSKRIT EPIGRAPHS
257 B.C. to 320 A.D.



With the Blessings of
His Holiness Paramāchārya of Kānchi

UṬṬAṆKITA SANSKRIT VIDYĀ ARANYA EPIGRAPHS

VOLUME II

PRĀKRIT AND SANSKRIT EPIGRAPHS

257 B.C. to 320 A.D.

EDITED BY

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Formerly Chief Epigraphist

Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore

UṬṬAṆKITA VIDYĀ ARANYA TRUST

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॥ समर्पणम् ॥

करुणारसपूर्णहृदं कलिकिल्बिषभीतभक्ततापहरम् ।
करधृतदण्डकमण्डलुमाचार्यं भजत शङ्करं काञ्च्याम् ॥ १ ॥
उट्टङ्कितपदपूर्वा विद्यारण्येतिनामिका संस्था ।
काञ्चीवरपीठगतैराचार्यैः श्रीचन्द्रशेखरेन्द्रयतिवर्यैः ॥ २ ॥
आचारे व्यवहारे भाषायां सम्प्रदायकार्येषु ।
सत्यपिभेदे धर्मः सर्वेषां वैदिको ह्येकः ॥ ३ ॥
इत्यर्थं बोधयितुं शासनमूलेन भारतीयानाम् ।
आचार्यैरालोचितमेतत्कार्यं समष्टिरूपधरम् ॥ ४ ॥
ताम्राश्मदारुणाणककाञ्चनरजतेषूट्टङ्कितान्यनेकत्र ।
शासनजिज्ञासूनामितरेषां स्थापिता सुबोधार्थम् ॥ ५ ॥
राजादिशासनान्यन्यानि च तत्र तत्र पठितानि बुधैः ।
संगृह्य च संशोध्य च कालक्रमेण सुयोजितान्यत्र ॥ ६ ॥
क्रिस्तोः पूर्वपराणां शतकत्रयमध्यवर्तिनामेषाम् ।
अष्टादशोत्तरद्विशतं शासनमूलं स्वीकृतं ह्यत्र ॥ ७ ॥
आङ्गलानुवादसहितं टिप्पण्यनुक्रमशब्दसूचीयुक्तम् ।
सर्वेषां सुखबोधं परमाचार्यैश्च दर्शितेन पथा ॥ ८ ॥
तदिदं द्वितीयपुष्पं वर्णविचित्रं सुरुपरमणीयम् ।
परमाचार्यपदाब्जे समर्प्यते भक्तिभावेन ॥ ९ ॥

॥ इति शम् ॥

FOREWORD

His Holiness Jagadguru Pūjya Śrī Chandraśekharendra Sarasvatī Śaṅkarāchārya Svāmīgal of Śrī Kāñchī Kamakoṭipīṭha is, as we all know, deeply interested in preserving and interpreting to present and future generations in India and abroad, the culture and civilisation of India. His Holiness is very familiar with Epigraphy, the richest among the sources of the history of India's culture and civilisation. The idea of delving into, and publishing in a codified manner as many as possible, if not all, of the important Sanskrit inscriptions of India (and of adjacent countries including those of South-East Asia) was conceived of by His Holiness and a Trust was formed under His instructions with a view to carry out this task. His Holiness named the Trust the Uṭṭaṅkita Vidyā Araṇya Trust meaning 'The Forest of Engraved Knowledge'. The expression 'Vidyā Araṇya', when made a compound word as 'Vidyāraṇya', recalls to us the famous scholar-statesman-saint who was instrumental in founding the great empire of Vijayanagara (also called Vidyānagara) at Hampi (in Bellary District, Karnataka State), and who was the only person comparable to Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya (the rejuvenator of the ancient Advaita School of Philosophy of the Vedas). The first volume published by the Trust in 1985 was appropriately dedicated to His (Vidyāraṇya's) memory and contained sixteen inscriptions relating to that great soul.

The further work of the Trust is presently planned on the following lines:

Vol. II	Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions, 257 B.C. to 320 A.D.
Vol. III	Sanskrit Inscriptions 321 A.D. to 600 A.D.
Vol. IV	Sanskrit Inscriptions 601- 750 A.D.
Vol. V	„ 751-1000 A.D.
Vol. VI	„ 1001-1200 A.D.

Vol. VII	Sanskrit Inscriptions	1201-1500 A.D.
Vol. VIII	„	1501-1600 A.D.

The above periodisation in respect of each volume is tentative and the actual time-frame for each volume will be fixed as and when the bulk of the work that goes into each volume is sufficiently advanced and when it covers a viable period representing the rule of one or more dynasties which ruled in specific parts of India. The actual number of volumes in this series will be made further clear as and when the work progresses.

Inscriptions in regional languages like Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam, Maharashtri, Gujarati, Hindi, Bengali, Assamese and Oriya began to appear regularly at varying periods from about the seventh century. Many of these inscriptions have preambles giving in Sanskrit the contents of the texts in the respective regional languages. In such cases it is proposed to give the Sanskrit text only but the summary will include also the contents of the portion in the regional languages so that the information on the inscription is complete and comprehensible.

Thus the second volume of the Trust presented here is, in fact, the first of a series of volumes containing a compilation of almost all the important inscriptions of the period 257 B.C. to 320 A.D., arranged chronologically. Most of the inscriptions are in Prākṛit language engraved in the Brāhmī script. Only a few are in Sanskrit language engraved in the same script. During this early period, which is none the less important for the history of India, inscriptions were written in Prākṛit language which was nearer to the then spoken dialects in India even though Sanskrit, a refined form being the origin of the spoken dialect, was well-known.

Since the aforesaid series begins with this volume, a format was drawn up to incorporate the information pertaining to each of the inscriptions. The format, as in the dedicatory volume, consists of the title, date, script, language, donor/king, dynasty, location, reference to the publication from which it has been taken up

for presentation, the text and the summary, the last two being adequately annotated.

The volume is placed before the readers with the hope that a reading of this by scholars and laymen alike will make them look forward to the succeeding volumes of the series.

Besides His Holiness to whom the Trust owes everything, the deliberations of the Trust have always been guided by eminent persons. The late D.C. Sircar who was the first chairman of the Trust guided the Trust in the preparation of the brochure for publicising the activities of the Trust, the selection of scholars to be involved in the work and other allied matters. The late S. Visvanathan, the Secretary of the Trust worked hard to make the work and the meetings of the Trustees so smooth that his absence now is keenly felt by the Trust. The present Chairman Prof. V. S. Pathak, though busy otherwise, kindly presided over the important meetings of the Trust which discussed the mode of work presently done and also to be done in future. The other members of the Trust Shri C.S. Krishna Moorthy, IAS (Retd), Dr. B. N. Mukherji, Carmichael Professor of Ancient History, Archaeology and Culture at the Calcutta University, Shri P. Sabhanayagam, IAS (Retd) and Shri V.S. Subrahmanian (formerly of the Office of the Chief Epigraphist) Shri C. G. Rangabashyam, IAS (Retd) the Executive Trustee, have contributed materially to the progress of this undertaking in various ways. The Trust looks forward to their continued interest in the future work of the Trust.

Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao, the then Director-General, Archaeological Survey of India took keen interest in the work of the Trust and also made available from the Government of India a grant of Rs. 25,000 in March 1986. Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy) of the Government of India, as Adviser to the Trust participated in the deliberations. He and Shri M. N. Katti, the Chief Epigraphist, helped very much the editor in his work to utilise the facilities in that office including his own assistants.

It is however not to be construed that the progress of the work of the Trust has gone on without major constraints. Needing as it does adequate knowledge and experience of epigraphic work, a good knowledge of Prākṛit and Sanskrit, and sense of history and

good drafting ability with adequate time-availability, the association of competent personnel in the work has been accomplished with only great difficulty and with rich altruism and selflessness of the participants for whose talents other (better-remunerative) opportunities have not been lacking. Overall however, despite best efforts, fund-raising has been disappointing. Apart from sizeable donations (albeit with conditions that have been complicated) from the Tirupathi-Tirumalai Devasthanam, the Government of Uttar Pradesh and the generosity of some individuals, particularly from the staff of the Asian Development Bank and some members of the Board of Trustees, there has been acute paucity of funds. The Government of India has, though unable to donate towards a capital fund, have been kind enough to sanction a grant every year towards meeting 75% of the revenue expenditure of the Trust towards payment of salary to scribes, their assistants and purchase of books. For the rest, the Trust has been utilizing the interest earnings from the donations referred to above (Tirumala Tirupathi Devasthanam, Government of Uttar Pradesh and Asian Development Bank's staff and sundry individual donations) credited to a capital fund. This has necessarily been a hand-to-mouth existence and therefore does not permit substantial expedition of the task. Nowhere else to our knowledge and at no time has work of this colossal type been undertaken, nor indeed would it have been undertaken in India itself but for the genius and the initiative of His Holiness Pūjyaśrī Chandraśekarendra Sarasvatī Śāṅkarāchārya Svāmigal of the hallowed Kāñchi Kamakoṭipīṭha. The uniqueness of this work is well expressed in the following extract from a communication from the Director of Epigraphy of the Government of India D.O. No. 55/1 (15)/84 which, though issued to the Trust on 13-1-1984, does remain, nevertheless, true and applicable still and is hence a strong argument for the widest possible public and private support by donations:

“The Project undertaken by the Uṭṭāṅkita Vidyā Araṇya Trust, of publishing the texts of all available Sanskrit inscriptions in a series of Volumes, cannot be considered as repetitive or as mere duplication of any work done or being done by the Central Government Agency concerned or, so far as I

learn, by any of the State Government agencies. As a matter of fact, it has been all along felt that such a publication which will bring together all the published as well as unpublished texts of Sanskrit inscriptions in stray publications in different vernacular scripts the present project when completed will bring uniformity by printing all the texts in the Nagari script, thus making the contents of the inscriptions available to all who can read the Nagari script. In the absence of an exhaustive bibliography of Sanskrit inscriptions published by different agencies in innumerable publications the completion of this project undertaken by the Uṭṭaṅkita Vidyā Aranya Trust is bound to make a significant contribution for the progress of Indological researches."

It is our pleasant duty now to thank Mrs Radha Burnier, the President of the Theosophical Society, Adyar for having agreed to have this volume printed in the Vasanta Press of the Society. We thank also the Press through its Manager, Shri B. K. Rao for the prompt and neat execution of this job.

Madras
February 1989

*Trustees of the
Uṭṭaṅkita Vidyā Aranya Trust.*



PREFACE

The present volume contains two hundred and eighteen (218) records, most of which are in Prākṛit language, arranged chronologically with a format giving general details such as title, date, script and language, donor or king as the case may be, dynasty, the king, location and reference to the source. This is followed by the text in Prākṛit as in the original epigraph along with a rendering of it in Sanskrit. A summary in English is given next with appropriate notes explaining specific terms or points deserving attention. The title is framed in such a way that the particular factors as the name of the donor, however insignificant he may be (in preference to the king who is introduced in the record mainly to indicate the chronology), or the place of its find or deposit are brought out. Most of the records are not dated at all and some are dated in years of a particular era and a few others in the regnal years of the kings concerned in whose reign they are dated. The equivalent year in the Gregorian calendar is given to most of the records. Quite a few are placed at the end of a particular century as there is not enough evidence to decide the question of exact date or year within the century.

Though the series is entitled 'Sanskrit Epigraphs', this volume consists mostly of inscriptions in Prākṛit language, Sanskrit inscriptions being only nineteen(19) (see Introduction, p. lxi). Prākṛit which was nearer to the spoken language of the people was used by Aśōka and his successors. Since the omission of these inscriptions will lead to a serious omission of the most important and also of the earliest period of recorded history of about six centuries, it was thought fit to include them along with corresponding version of each Prākṛit text in Sanskrit.

In respect of location wherever possible, the places of the present deposit in cases of loose slabs, images or other objects are given, so that those who want to have access to the originals can

do so. Under 'reference' in the format is given one of the editions of the record along with the author's name. When more than one scholar have cited or discussed the contents of the record, such references are listed in the Bibliography.

The summary of each inscription gives the most important contents of the record in language which reflects the substance, rather than the exact construction of the original text. Maximum care has been taken not to omit in this process anything of importance. Since most of the records are very short, thus making summaries look like translations, the word 'summary' has been chosen to make for uniformity.

An appendix at the end gives details of genealogical tables of dynasties. An index of as many expressions and words as possible is also given.

The selection of inscriptions in the Prākṛit language to be included in this volume has been indeed a hard task. While every Sanskrit inscription irrespective of its nature is proposed to be included, more than one criterion has however been considered in the selection of Prākṛit inscriptions from their totality which runs to more than two thousands. *The List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times* compiled by one scholar (Professor H. Lüders) alone and published as an appendix to Volume X of the *Epigraphia Indica* contains as many as 1353 items in the main list and about 50 more in the supplement. The famous *stūpa* at Sāñchi in Madhya Pradesh alone has yielded 508 inscriptions which are included in the above list. They record the donation of one part or other of the edifice. Since most of the inscriptions repeat the purport of the record in a stereotyped manner except in the case of names and places, only a few samples of such inscriptions have been included. Another consideration is the closeness of the Prākṛit version to the Sanskrit diction. This is the case of twelve rock edicts of Aśōka, versions of which are found engraved in more than one place. Only one of the versions of each such repeated edict is included. Two more edicts (No. 18 and 19) (specially meant for Kalinga) found at Dhauri and Jaugaḍa in Orissa are included. One more version of the Minor Edict from Pāñgurāria (No. 2) besides that of Gujarrā (No. 1) is included on account of some additional information not available elsewhere. Most of the

other inscriptions not available otherwise, though in a single line (No. 42) or fragmentary (No. 99) find a place here on account of their cultural importance or their representative nature regarding the area (No. 72) or a ruling family. Inscriptions on coins, or seals typical of the series issued by tribes (Nos. 54, 56, 211-12) and kings have also been included. It has not been possible in every case to refer to the criterion on the basis of which it is included. However the general introduction which refers to nearly all the inscriptions will prove amply the justification for their inclusion.

The cut-off date for closing the volume is fixed at 319-20 A.D., the well-known date of the commencement of the Gupta Era as a convenient point, though it is possible that some inscriptions of the fourth century may have to be placed on either side of this date. It is evident that in the absence of definite dates or clear palaeographical indications no record can be assigned to an exact date.

The editor is very much indebted to Shri V.S. Subrahmanian for the compilation of the texts in Prakṛit and the corresponding Sanskritised texts and for the preparation of the Index and also to Dr. S. Sankaranarayanan for his valuable suggestions in respect of both the texts and the summaries.

But for the benign benediction of Paramahansa Parivṛāja-kāchārya Sri Chandrasēkharēndra Sarasvati Svāmigal, Paramāchārya of the hallowed Kāñchī Kāmakōṭi Pīṭham and the constant encouragement by the Trustees like Shri C. S. Krishna Murthy and Shri C.G. Rangabhashyam it would not have been possible for the editor to undertake this arduous task of preparing the volume which is now placed before the enlightened scholars and equally interested intellectuals.

Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological, Survey of India and Shri M. N. Katti, Chief Epigraphist, as Advisers to the Trust, extended all possible help in many ways including the supply of photographs of inscriptions for the preparation of this volume and afforded full facilities to consult the books in the Library of the Office of the Chief Epigraphist at Mysore in Karnataka State, India. Our thanks are due to them.

K. G. KRISHNAN



HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The period of history covered by this volume opens with the reign of Aśōka, the great Mauryan Emperor (272-232 B.C.). India has a very long history before his times, which was not recorded on any imperishable material. The sources for the history of the earlier period, were recovered partly from the material excavated at the important sites of habitation (Mohen-ja-daro, Harappa etc. now in Pakistan) and partly from the accounts in manuscripts written down much later, which had escaped the ravages of times. Contemporaneous material from abroad in the Near East and the Middle East where the practice of recording on stone was prevalent has also thrown light on the very Ancient History of India. The present volume opens with the period when records began to be engraved on stone, brick, wood etc. which have survived till date. A very brief review of the history of the period is given below:

Aśōka inherited his kingdom from his father and predecessor Bindusāra (300-272) B.C. who succeeded Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynastic rule. Aśōka was followed by his grandson Daśaratha, Samprati and Brīhadratha (187 B.C.) the last ruler. The empire extended during Aśōka's rule from Afghanistan to Bengal and from the Himalayas to the south upto the southern limits of Chitradurga District of Karnāṭaka (about 14° of latitude). The war against Kalinga was the turning point in his career. He renounced war as it was the cause of misery to a large number of people. He became a Buddhist and began to rule with utmost compassion for his subjects. Aśōka got many inscriptions containing his message on *Dharma* to the people, engraved on rocks, pillars and slabs in various places in his empire (See p. 3 note 1; p. 48 note 1). He did not leave any record about his exploits or the events of his times, as it was the practice with royalty later on in the history of India. Aśōka sent his message also to his contemporaries in Western Asia, Africa, the Tamil kingdom (South India)

and Sri Lanka (p. 59). His message urged the people to practice compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness and practice.

The last Mauryan king Br̥hadratha was killed by Pushyamitra Śuṅga (187-151 B.C.). The Śuṅga dynasty founded by him ruled upto 75 B.C. The empire extended, during Pushyamitra's rule, as far upto the river Narmadā. During the rule of one of his successors Bhāgabhadra, a Greek ambassador Heliadora (Heliodorus) donated a flagstaff with the figure of Garuḍa, the winged bearer of Lord Viṣṇu (No. 48). The Śuṅgas were followed by the Kaṇvas who ruled from 75-30 B.C.

The tribes like the Mālavas, the Yaudhēyas and the Arjunāyanas moved from the north-west frontier region and exerted their influence in the political affairs of the area with the help of their professional military expertise.

About this time before the beginning of the Christian Era the Sātavāhanas appeared on the scene in Dekkan and later on the Śaka-Kshatrapa kings in North India. The records of the former speak of the popularity of the Vedic pantheon among the people. They were followed by the Kushāṇas under Kanishka I, the commencement of whose reign in 78 A.D. is reckoned as the beginning of the Śaka era. Kanishka's empire extended from Khōrāsān (Iran) in the west to Bihār in the east and from Khotan (Central Asia) in the north to Konkan (Maharashtra) in the south. His successors were Vāsishka, his brother Huvishka, Vāsishka's son Kanishka II and Vāsudēva who ruled upto 167 A.D. The Kushāṇas adopted a liberal policy of tolerance though the available records of their period show that Buddhism was the dominant religion. Their erstwhile subordinates the Śaka-Kshatrapas in the western region began to rule from Ujjain independently. They came into conflict with their contemporaries the Sātavāhanas who ruled from Nasik (in Maharashtra).

The Sātavāhanas began to rule over a vast empire which at one time extended over entire South India so that they could claim to have made their horses drink the waters of the ocean on the three sides of peninsular India. Simuka was the first ruler in the period towards the end of the first century B.C. His successors were

Kṛishṇa, Sātakarṇi, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi, Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, Yajña Sātakarṇi, Śivaśrī-Pulumāvi, Chaṇḍa-Sātakarṇi, and Vijaya-Sātakarṇi. The rule of this dynasty ended about 200 A.D. The Sātavāhana kings, though inclined towards the Vēdic faith practised tolerance towards the Buddhists for whom they excavated caves very near Nasik.

The Ābhīras, members of which tribe were serving the Śaka-Kshatrapas of Ujjain rose against the Sātavāhanas under the leadership of Īśvarasēna. His successor Vasushēṇa extended their rule to the west upto the coast and upto the Guntur region in Andhra Pradesh. This situation paved the way for the rise of the Ikshvākus in the Kṛishṇa valley around Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Chantamūla, the founder was succeeded by Virapurushadatta, Ehavala Chantamūla and Rudrapurushadatta. All of them ruled over an area around Nāgārjunakoṇḍa covering the regions from the Kṛishṇa river to the southern limits of the Guntur District in the south. Chantamūla, the founder was a staunch follower of Vedic faiths. The female members of the families of the kings patronised the Buddhist monks to such an extent that the area around Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was studded with many monasteries.

Kalinga was ruled by Khāravēla a Jaina towards the end of the first century B.C. His inscription lists in sequence the exploits and the benefactions made by him up to the thirteenth year in his reign.

The northern region was ruled by minor dynasties like Mitras, the rulers of Bandōgarh etc, who have issued numerous coins but have not left as many inscriptions. They ruled over parts of northern region before and after the Kushāṇas (Nos. 48, 52, 57, 71 etc. and 145-153, 159 etc.)

The introduction that follows deals with some important aspects of Indian Polity as revealed by the inscriptions included in this volume.

INTRODUCTION

This volume contains two hundred and eighteen (218) inscriptions selected out of about three thousand (3000) inscriptions assignable to the period ranging from earliest times to 320 A.D.¹ Barring nineteen inscriptions in Sanskrit language written in Brahmi script all the rest of them are in Prākṛit language written in Kharōshthī or Brāhmī scripts. Prākṛit (प्राकृतम्) language was both the form of speech of the people at large and also of the language adopted in literature closely based on that form of speech. Sanskrit (संस्कृतम् = well formed) is obviously a refined language as the etymology of the word points to, used often for specific purposes in rituals and also as a means of conversation among the higher echelons of society. *Prākṛitam* is derived from *prakṛiti* i.e. nature which is identified with Sanskrit². Another view is that the natural form of speech among the people is the basis of the language called *Prākṛitam* and Sanskrit (*Samskṛitam*) is but a refined form of the popular speech. The fact remains however that earliest inscriptions (e.g. Aśoka's edicts) in India were couched in the Prākṛit language and engraved on rocks and pillars so that his officers could propagate the message in them to the people of the regions where they are engraved. The Buddhists, and the Jainas before them, used only Prākṛit in order to preach and convert people to their faith. It is no wonder that the inscriptions of this period were couched in *Prākṛit*. It will be seen that a good number of them are either wholly Buddhist or Jain in affiliation or steeped in common elements of culture and religion prevalent among the royalty and the laity.

The inscriptions included in this volume are found engraved on various materials such as wood. (Nos. 106, 162, 168, 186, 187 and 204), brick (Nos. 42, 53 and 102), terracota (Nos. 210-11) lead

¹ See Preface, page xii for the criteria of selection of inscriptions.

² प्रकृतिः संस्कृतम् See *Prākṛita-Prakāśikā* Ed. by P.L. Vaidya, Intro. pp. 2ff

(No. 157), copper (Nos. 40, 54, 56, 80, 91 and 96), silver (Nos. 55, 85, and 142), gold (No. 83) conch (No. 175), bronze (Nos. 44 and 125) and stone (all the other numbers).

Aśōka states in two of his records (Nos. 10 and 29) that he got the edicts on *dharma* written (on stone) so that they will last long. He must have been aware that the kings on the west of his empire (the Persians, the Greeks, etc.) had written on stone. It follows that his predecessors did not care to record anything for posterity to know or follow. But Aśōka was interested in leaving behind a message that will be eternal and also perceptible (Nos. 29 and 34). Indeed his message of sublime nobility is there on rocks and pillars¹ for all time and for all people.

Chronology and Political History from Aśōka's Inscriptions

The chronological arrangement of Inscriptions in this volume has forced us to attempt to assign dates for inscriptions, though this can only be tentative. We are sure about the sequence of events recorded in these inscriptions while the dates can be pushed back or later in accordance with any possible revision of basic landmarks of dates if and when more evidence turns up in future. However, there are some inscriptions which can be assigned to any date within the particular century. For example all the inscriptions placed at the end of the centuries, with dates marked as merely 3rd century B.C. (Nos. 38-45), 2nd century B.C. (No. 49) and 1st century B.C. (Nos. 53-56) etc., may be placed against definite dates only on the basis of some hair-splitting arguments which may not stand the test of later research or future discoveries. Nos. 39 and 41 respectively from Mahāsthān and Sohgaūrā are examples of this type. Some scholars consider these two as Pre-Aśōkan on insufficient grounds.

The chronology of the Aśōkan Edicts adopted here is completely based on D.C. Sircar's observations on the issue of the drafts of these Edicts.² He has suggested:

¹ The theory that there was no system of writing before Aśōka's times and that Brāhmī script was an invention of his times is untenable. (Goyal in *Origin of Brāhmī* Ed. by K. S. Ramachandran and S. P. Gupta). This view may have arisen since his predecessors might have used perishable materials to write upon. See pp. lxiv-v.

² *Aśōkan Studies*, pp. 116-17.

“(1) that Asoka became a Buddhist in the second half of his tenth regnal year (i.e. nine years after his coronation, c.260-259 B.C.), (2) that he came into close contact with the Buddhist Church, became a zealous worker to propagate *Dharma* and undertook a pilgrimage to Sambōdhi in the second half of his eleventh regnal year (i.e., ten years after coronation, c. 259-258 B.C.) (3) that he set out on a tour for the propagation of *Dharma* about the middle of his twelfth regnal year (i.e., eleven years after the coronation, c. 258-257 B.C.), and (4) that Minor Rock Edicts III-(Nos. 1-3) were issued in the course of that tour in the first half of his thirteenth regnal year (i.e. twelve years after coronation c. 257-256 B.C.).

The Shar-i-kuna edict (No. 23) now corroborates the suggestion that Aśōka became an active propagator of *Dharma* ten years after his coronation, i.e., in his eleventh regnal year, and sets at rest certain unwarranted speculation about the duration of Aśōka's *upāsakatva* when Minor Rock Edict I was issued. The nature of the Shar-i-Kuna edict is similar to that of Minor Rock Edicts I-II, and both the former and the latter appear to have been of the same year and so, may be counted among the earliest edicts issued by Aśōka.

As indicated above, the imperial order contained in Rock Edict III was issued and Rock Edict IV was caused to be written down in the thirteenth regnal year of Aśōka. But Rock Edict V, belonging to the set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts including Rock Edicts III and IV, contains a reference to the creation of the posts of *Dharma-Mahāmātras* in the following year. The set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts could therefore have been engraved in Aśōka's fourteenth regnal year at the earliest. Among the six pillar Edicts forming another set, it is known from Pillar Edicts I, IV, V, and VI that the set was issued twenty-six years after Aśōka's coronation, i.e., in the twenty-seventh regnal year. Pillar Edict VII added to the above set of six on the Delhi-Toprā pillar was caused to be inscribed in the following year and this particular set of seven Pillar Edicts could not therefore have been engraved before Aśōka's twenty-eighth regnal year. There is a fairly long and

rather inexplicable interval of more than a decade between the issue of Minor Rock Edicts I-II (thirteenth regnal year) and the set of the Rock Edicts (thirteenth and fourteenth regnal years) on the one hand, and that of the Pillar Edicts (twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth regnal years) on the other. During this interval, Aśōka may have been busy with his tours of pilgrimage and with the schism in the Buddhist Church, both referred to in some of his records."

Aśōka's Minor Edict I (No. 2) ends with a statement

यत्र च पर्वत यत्र च शिला यत्र [सर्वतलेखापेत] वा वि य ति —Sanskrit
यत्र च पर्वतः यत्र च शिलास्तम्भाः सन्ति सर्वत्र तेषु अयं लेखितव्यः इति

'Wherever there are rocks and stone-pillars there this order shall be written'.

This implies that Asoka instructed his officials to utilise, in addition to new ones, pillars already existing to have his edicts engraved.

He has stated in another inscription (No. 26) that he has erected the pillar. This seems further reason to hold that some pillars were already in existence and some others were newly erected by him, though most of the inscriptions are silent in respect of this.¹

Aśōka's message on Dharma².

The war with Kalinga marked a turning point in Aśōka's career and thinking. Aśōka who was until then i.e. the eighth year (260-61 B.C.) after his coronation an expansionist emperor just like his forbears, changed completely when he witnessed the carnage of war. He describes in his own edict (No. 16) the war and its effect on himself:

¹ Cf. John Irwin *The True Chronology of Asokan Pillars* where he has tried to distinguish between such pillars on the basis of the manner of writing, horizontally on a pillar lying on the ground or on standing pillar, respectively if they were engraved before erecting or after erecting. He holds that all the six pillar edicts were engraved with each line running from the base towards the top and the seventh from Delhi Topra and Allahabad Pillars got the inscriptions engraved with lines running from the left to the right after the shafts were erected (Quoted from *The Hindu*, p. 19, dated 19.12.1986).

² See p. xxv for the meaning of *dharma* according to Aśōka.

'Men and animals numbering one hundred thousand were captured alive and several hundred thousands of them died during, and as a result of the war. We repent this extremely painful and deplorable action and are now devoted to intense practice of pious actions.'

The intensity of his remorse is seen all the more vividly when he adds in anguish:

'The pious people like the Brāhmaṇas, the Śramaṇas, the adherents of other sects and householders etc., who live in that country and who practise virtues such as devotion and care of parents, elders and preceptors, proper courtesy to friends, relatives, slaves and servants, consider the injury or slaughter or deportation of their friends, acquaintances and relations etc., as **injury done to themselves**, though they themselves are well provided for. The killing, death or deportation of even one per hundred or one per thousand of the people in Kalinga is considered by the beloved of the Gods, to be deplorable.'

Can we normally expect or encounter in the annals of world history, any mention, not to speak of condemnation, of such, ravages of war by the conqueror himself? Aśōka is no doubt 'the great'. His message in all his edicts begins the recorded history of India and also, sad to say, stands out in isolation but with supreme grandeur—never repeated—in the mass of Indian Epigraphy and of human history.

This feeling of remorse and the change in his attitude must have naturally led him to seek solace in the company of the Buddhist Sangha (Nos. 1-2). He undertook pilgrimages for piety, (*dharma-yātrā*) to Sambōdhi (No. 12) and to many other places like Upuṇṭhavihāra (No. 2). This goes well with his statement that he spent two hundred and fiftysix (256) days on tour. These activities were undertaken in the tenth year after his coronation (259-8 B.C.) As a result of his association with the *Saṅgha* and his gradual conversion to Buddhism, Aśōka embarked upon the task of urging his people to follow the path of righteousness.

Some of his edicts give us an indication as to his assessment of reigns previous to his own. According to him (Nos. 1 and 2)

there were people who 'did not mingle with gods (*dēvas*)' i.e. were impious in attitude. They changed on account of his exertions. He found that 'for hundreds of years in the past the killing of living beings, cruelty to them, disrespect to relatives, to Śramaṇas and to Brāhmaṇas (adherents of non-Vedic and Vedic religions respectively) increased, and they could be dissuaded from such a state only by invoking visual projections of Heaven, Hell, etc. (No. 8). He found that State business was not reported or carried out at all hours in the past (No. 10). He also found that kings in the past were indulging in cruel pleasures like hunting (No. 12). People were indulging in ceremonies of doubtful or limited utility (No. 13). In respect of each of these aspects, Aśōka exerted himself hard to effect a change.

As a first step he abhorred and renounced war. In fact, we do not hear of any war during the reign of Aśōka after the conquest of Kalinga.¹ He began conquest by piety (*dharma-vijaya*.) He got drafted several types of texts meant for (1) the administrators who are vested with the power and responsibility of achieving the desired results (Nos. 3, 7, 10, 18, 19 and 31) (2) the Buddhist clergy in urging them to hold fast to the duties ordained on them (Nos. 4 and 27) (3) the people at large dealing with one or more or all of these points (all other records). These drafts were sent to different areas in his empire and were engraved on rocks (or pillars) at sites which lay on important routes or near important towns where people are likely to live together or gather. The Delhi (Topra) Pillar Edict VII (No. 34) describes in detail the process of thinking and the plan of action on the part of Aśōka. It is said that Aśōka thought deeply about the failure of the people to progress along the path of *dharma* in the past. He, it is stated, considered two ways of carrying out his objective: 1) by proclamations on *dharma* through officers called *Dharma-Mahāmātras* specially appointed for the purpose and through texts of his instructions engraved on rocks and pillars wherever possible and also through beat of drums: 2) by restrictions such as killing of animals, birds etc., in short, and by abstention from harming any living being (Nos. 5 and 32) and 3)

¹ It should be noted that the entire sub-continent except the Tamil country formed his empire.

by making gifts himself and also from his queens and other members of the royal household to worthy recipients reported by his officers, as an incentive for the practice of **dharma** embodying compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness (Nos. 29 and 34). Besides, Aśōka ordered of course gradually, that the huge killing of animals, birds etc., should be stopped, to start with, in his own kitchen.

Aśōka calls all his proclamations recorded on stone as *dharma-lipi* i.e., writings on *dharma*. The word *dharma* cannot be rendered in English satisfactorily as it embraces all that is harmless to anybody, but benefits many, stemming from righteousness mixed with devotion.

This word has its origin in Vedic lore¹ and Buddha adopted it to imply all that is pious and good. Aśōka also used the same word obviously on account of his conversion to Buddhism. But he took care not to appear to propagate Buddhism, in the sense of indulging in proselytising. His message embodied the maximum acceptable code of ethics which was also part of the *dharma* as laid down in Vedic lore. His statement made only once on the prohibition of sacrifices involving the killing of animals (No. 5) is a solitary one in the vast mass of his writings, often repeated, which is non-vedic quite in keeping with his Buddhistic conviction. He claims that the entire message is sweet and hence is being repeated again and again to bring home to the people his concern for their well-being (No. 17), besides making the message elaborate or abridged according to the immediate needs and purposes to be served.

The message on *dharma* consists mainly of basic exhortations to people as follows:

Mother, father and elders should be attended to and obeyed. All living beings should be treated with kindness. Truth must be spoken.

¹ *Rigveda*, i, 22, 18; 164, 43, 50; iii, e. 1; 17,, 1; 60,6; v. 26, 6; 63, 7; 72, 2 etc, *Atharva-Veda* xiv, i, 51; *Vājasanēyi-saṁhitā*, x 29. *Taittiriya-saṁhitā*, iii, 5, 2, 21.

This exhortation is first met with in No. 3 and is repeated in Nos. 7, 8 and 13¹. In the last-mentioned record it is added that liberality should be practised towards Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas (adherents, respectively, of non-Vedic and Vedic faiths). The emphasis on self-control and character (Nos. 8 and 11) in the promotion of *dharma* is noteworthy and eternally valid.

Aśōka issued a few pronouncements addressed to the Buddhists. His initial training and experience of association with the *Saṅgha* for about two and a half years appears to have prompted him to issue one edict (No. 4) directly addressed to the members of the *Saṅgha*. After affirming his faith in the *Buddha* (Siddhārtha also known as Gautama, who became enlightened and was therefore called Buddha), the *Dharma* (Buddha's teachings) and the *Saṅgha* (the organisation of monks and nuns to practise and propagate them), the triple refuges of the adherents of that religion Aśōka suggests that all the monks and nuns should listen and reflect on the texts on *Dharma* comprising all that has been said by Gautama Buddha. The lay followers also were required to do so. He goes one step further in issuing an order to the councils of monks and nuns that those among them creating dissension in the ranks of the *Saṅgha* should be compelled to put on white robes and be expelled to live away in places unfit for recluses (No. 27). The interval of about eight years (B.C. 257 to 249) between the two records referred to above suggests some schism in the Buddhist council which has attracted the attention of the king to issue the order reflecting his influence on these matters. It was at this period that Aśōka visited the Buddha's place of birth, had a pillar erected and had built also a stone wall around it. He also granted the village Lumbinī (modern Rummindei in Nepalese Tarai) around the spot, exempting it from taxes and reducing the dues to the state to one-eighth of the produce (No. 25). Aśōka revisited a place nearby now called Nigālī Sāgar tank at Niglīva, and added a stone pillar (No. 26) to the memorial for a previous Buddha Kanakamuni renovated by him earlier. While all these suggest

¹ Aśōka's Rock Edicts I to XIV form a set and are engraved on the same rock in many places (see map), except at Jagaḍa and Dhāuli in Orissa where Edicts XI XII and XIII are not found. At Jagaḍa and Dhāuli two other records (Nos. 18 and 19) are seen in the place of the three mentioned above.

clearly Aśōka's intense personal activities as a Buddhist, his state policy was one of great tolerance. As if to caution his own co-religionists he issued an edict (No. 15) urging them not to proclaim their superiority, probably attempted or sought to be established on the basis of royal patronage, and to practise self-restraint and tolerance towards adherents of other religions. Indeed his frequent reference to liberality towards (the Vedic) Brāhmaṇas also in addition to (Non-Vedic) Śramaṇas (Nos. 3, 7, 8, 9, 12, 16, 20 and 34) is an indication of his concern for **all** pious people **irrespective of their religious affiliation**. There is an interesting reference (No. 1) to the four castes, originally mentioned in the *Vēdas*.¹ They are referred to in the ascending order, as the servant-class, merchants and agriculturists, the brāhmaṇas and the ruling classes (*bhāṭa-ārya*, *brāhmaṇa-ibhya*). The last mentioned of the highest rank viz., the Kshatriya is indicated by the interesting word *ibhya*, though both the words are known from Vedic times. The word *ibhya* often used in the plural, has been used in the sense of a person who is capable of maintaining many retainers along with elephants thus proving his command of wealth, status and power.

Aśōka assumed the epithets *Dēvānām-priyaḥ* (beloved of the Gods) and *Priyadarśi* (lovable to see). Aśōka seems to have some justification in bearing the first epithet as he was fond of urging his subjects to adopt the righteous way of life so that the gods would mingle with men and he claims to have succeeded in his attempt in this direction (No. 2)² The other epithet *Priyadarśi* might have been given due to his amiable looks. It was adopted as a title also by various kings of Śrīlaṅka beginning from Tissa (No. 36)

¹ See *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Macdonell and Keith, Vol. I, pp. 79-80. Also see under *Varṇa*.

² The predecessors of Aśōka also seem to have used the epithet *dēvānām priyaḥ* (No. 12, notes 1 and 2). Pāṇini, the great Sanskrit grammarian of the fifth (5th) century B.C. describes (VI, 3, 21) a usage in which the genitive case suffix is preserved at the end of the first member of compounds if the meaning is abusive. Kātyāyana, a great commentator of the fourth (4th) century B.C. on Pāṇini includes *dēvānām priyaḥ* among the instances for this usage to explain this statement. Patañjali of the second (2nd) century B.C. in his *Mahābhāṣya*, a commentary of Pāṇini seems to have used this phrase in an ironical sense. Kaiyaṭa, the commentator of Patañjali's work gives the meaning *mūrkhā* (fool) to this phrase. *Siddhānta-Kaumudī*, a later commentary on Pāṇini by Bhaṭṭoji-dīkṣita also gives the same meaning. This phrase however ceased to be used after the periods of Aśōka and his grandson Daśaratha (No. 37).

Aśōka intended to use the medium of stone only to have his message on *dharma* recorded and preserved for posterity. It is but natural that we do not have any inscription speaking of the events of his times or of the steps on the implementation of policies other than that of *dharma*. However Aśōka undertook some general works of public utility such as the planting of trees, herbs, etc., on the roadside and elsewhere for rest in shade (Nos. 6 and 34), wells dug in many places for supply of water for men and beast (Nos. 6 and 34); proper treatment of men and animals also regarding his aversion to the castration or branding of animals, treatment of birds (Nos. 29 and 32) and reform of prisoners and periodic review for their release (Nos. 9 and 18). His records were not to provide an inventory of the places where these works were undertaken. But a solitary instance of a great reservoir (*Sudarśana*) being repaired and enlarged at Junagadh in Gujarat is noticed not in his records but that of a local Śaka ruler Rudradāman in c. 150 A.D. (No. 135). This lake originally constructed in the reign of Chandragupta Maurya by his governor Pushyagupta was enlarged with adequate outlets by Tushāspā, a Greek governor under Aśōka (No. 135). Thus we get proof of Aśōka's claim from a record after a lapse of about four hundred years.¹

Bhaṭṭiprōlu Inscriptions

So far we have dealt with some aspects of the Aśōkan Edicts. Among other inscriptions of third century B.C. the inscriptions from Bhaṭṭiprōlu deserve some consideration.

The inscriptions (No. 38) from Bhaṭṭiprōlu in Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh, seem to belong to a period, coeval with the Aśōkan Edicts, if not earlier, on account of the writing system obtaining in them.

The marking of the vowel *a* and *ā* attached to the consonants in the middle of the words, the reverse forms of some of the letters and the manner of writing some letters upside down are consistently

¹ This is also an eloquent testimony of the historiographic sense of the people in maintaining records of such acts in a sequence in ancient times though they never attempted to preserve such records for posterity. See also the inscription (No. 67) of Khāravēla of Kalinga which detail his activities in sequence.

the characteristic features of the writing.¹ When compared with some of the characteristic features of the Brāhmī inscriptions of the caves in the Tamil language in the southern Districts of Tamil Nadu they are suggestive of an experimental stage of devising a system of writing suitable to the linguistic needs in South India, and hence not to be dated chronologically after Aśōka. The predating of all these inscriptions is also supported by the archaeological evidence of the Mauryan polished upright stone bearing an Aśōkan inscription (No. 28, note 1) and by the Jaina affiliation of cave inscriptions of the far south, which was due to an earlier stream of migrants from the north. Apart from these, the inscriptions contain interesting references to *Gōshthīs* from Hiraṇyavaghava (Hiraṇyavyāghrapa), the Lion-group (सीहगोठी) headed by king Kubēraka and the group of Āyāska. The references to Kumba Chaghañaputra and Arahadina, the monks of the respective groups are comparable to similar groups (*gōshthīs*) like the Barulamisa-gōshthī from Vidiśā and the Buddha-gōshthī from Dharmavardhana referred to in the inscriptions of Sāñchī,² which seem to reflect the transition from the tribal to the monarchial system.

In respect of Kushāṇa chronology it is found that Huvishka began his joint rule with his senior Vāsishka from Śaka 25 (103 A.D. No. 108). It was held so far that Huvishka began to rule with Vāsishka only from the (Śaka) year 28. He continued to rule jointly, with Vāsishka's son Kanishka II who was ruling till the year 41 (119 A.D.)

The chronological arrangement of the inscriptions on the basis of palaeography in respect of the Sātavāhana records presented here has yielded the following results:

1. The kings of the main line of Sātavāhana dynasty ruling from Govardhana (near Nasik) appear to have adopted the titles Sātakarṇi and Pulumāvi alternately³ i.e., if a king had

¹ These features are elaborately listed by D.C. Sircar and dismissed as due to the carelessness of the scribe or the engraver. He assigns these inscriptions to the end of the 2nd century B.C.

² See *A Comprehensive History of India* Vol. II, pp. 490-91.

³ This recalls the same practices among the Gaṅgas of Taḷaikkāḍu, (Satya-vākya and Nītimārga); the Chōḷas of Taḷjāvūr (Rājakēsari and Parakēsari) and the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai (Māraṇ or Māra-varman and Chaḍaiyaṇ or Chaḍaiya-varman)

Sātakarṇi as the suffix in his name his son or successor had Pulumāvi. The genealogical table in the Appendix is based on this factor though there are gaps in between any two kings right from Simuka, the earliest known ruler. Unfortunately the proper names of most of the kings are not, known except those of Yajñaśrī, Śivaśrī, Vijaya and Chaṇḍa. Possibly the Sātavāhana kings listed in the Purāṇas who do not have any of the two cognomens might have belonged to the collateral lines ruling over the outlying provinces of the Sātavāhan empire which had shifting frontiers according to the circumstances of the times.

2. The *coup de'tat* effected by Ābhīra Īśvarasēna, son of Ābhīra Śivadatta at Nasik (No. 166) had led to the disappearance of Sātavāhana rule in the central parts of their empire. Rulers like Vijaya-Sātakarṇi (No. 170) Chaṇḍa-Sātakarṇi (No. 174) and Śivaśrī-Pulumāvi (No. 178) continue to rule in Andra Pradesh and Karnataka, only to be overrun again by Ābhīra Vasushēṇa in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (No. 175). This change in the situation gave rise to the appearance of the Ikshvākus on the scene at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in Guntur District in Andhra Pradesh. We have disassociated the problem of the dates of Ābhīra kings from those of the Kalachuri era for want of any conclusive piece of evidence. Hence the dates are taken as 212 A.D. for Īśvarasēna and 242 A.D. for Vasushēṇa.

Administration

Aśōka, the Mauryan Emperor, not only inherited the administrative set-up but also added a new wing consequent on his adoption of a new policy of conquest through *dharma* instead of conquest through war. Since his edicts included in this volume are oriented towards this policy, not much information is available in them regarding the other wings of administration. Aśōka is known to have posted at least four princes (*Kumāras*) at Taxila, Ujjain, Tosali and Suvarnagiri (No. 1, note 4; No. 2 and No. 18, notes 5 and 6). The exact extent of their authority is not clear on account of their being mentioned at the beginning of the record as the issuer or co-ordinator. There is no doubt however that they

enjoyed the confidence of the emperor. The name of only one of the princes is mentioned i.e. Samva (Samba) probably stationed at Ujjain, the seat of power nearest from the findspot of the inscription (No. 2) mentioning him. The kingdom was apparently divided into regions (*pradēśas*) which were placed in charge of provincial governors (*Prādēśikas*). They were also called *Rāshṭrikas*. A comparison of the sequence in which both *Rajjukas*, another class of officers and *Prādēśikas* in one inscription and both *Rajjukas* and *Rāshṭrikas* in another are mentioned (Nos. 7 and 3 respectively) points to this equation of *Prādēśikas* with *Rāshṭrikas*. It is interesting to find that a later record (No. 135) refers to two officers, one Vaiśya Pushyagupta designated as a provincial governor (*rāshṭrīyaka*) under Chandragupta Maurya and the other, the Persian king (*Yavana*) Tushāspa under Aśōka, whose designation is however not given. The office of *Rajjuka*, higher than *Rāshṭrikas* and *Prādēśikas* as it seems to have been was probably not attached to any particular region but was connected with the revenue department directly under the central government (No. 3 note 3). So also the *Yutas* (*Yuktas*) mentioned in another version at Girnar were higher and central officers. But the *Rajjukas* were also entrusted with other powers besides attending to revenue work as the etymology of the word indicates, such as the power to reward or punish offenders indicating that they were invested with judicial powers with a free hand also to reform criminals (No. 31). There is an indirect reference to a group of people called *Purushas* (Nos. 28, 31, and 34) who are said to know the king's mind and whom the *Rajjukas* were supposed to obey even as they obeyed the king. The *mahāmātras* who were there before Aśōka's times were posted to every region to work closely with the local governors or occasionally independently (No. 18). Another central cadre of officers created by Aśōka and posted in different regions was that of the *Dharma-Mahāmātras*. This set of officers was assigned the special duty of enforcing Aśōka's policy of Dharma (No. 34). Some of these officers were allotted different segments of society such as the Buddhist sect and their associations; Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas, Nigranthas and various other sects (not named). Thus fell to them the task of reconciling the interests of different sects while devoting their primary attention to the maintenance of peace and happiness

for all, from both the moral and the spiritual points of view. They were also asked to report about worthy people so that the king, his queens and other members of his household could pass on gifts to them through the same officers evidently with a view to encourage them to continue to live virtuously and also to set an example to make others also do so.

Aśoka was always and at any time, irrespective of what he was engaged in, accessible to one class of people called reporters (*prativēdakas*) who had the duty of reporting anything connected with the affairs of the people (No.10). He also instructed that in case there is difference of opinion or controversy regarding any oral orders among the Mahāmātras or the council of ministers, (*Parishad*) the matter must be referred to him immediately.

The few records of the Scytho-Parthian king Śōḍāsa called *Mahākshatrapa* do not give any information about the administration. One (No. 77) of the records however describes an official as *gañjavara* meaning 'treasurer' in the course of detailing his benefactions in respect of a temple probably for the deities like the five heroes of Vṛishṇi clan and Lakshmī. The next batch of inscriptions of the Śaka and Kshatrapa kings do not throw much light on contemporary administration, restricted as they are to merely the donative aspects in their contents. Naturally designations like *Mahādānapati* (No. 80), *Dānamukhya* (No. 81) and *Hōramūrta* (No. 95) point to the offices created essentially to look after the endowments for religious establishments. The inscriptions of the Kushāṇas which occur next, also do not give much information except that the institutions of Mahākshatrapa and Kshatrapa (No. 87) continued ultimately leading to the rise of the Kshatrapa dynasties in the western parts of the Kushāṇa empire. The office of the commander of the army (*daṇḍanāyaka*), a very well-known designation existed both under the Kushāṇas and the Kshatrapas. The designation of minister (*amātya*) is first met with in No. 98 (also No.106) towards the end of the 1st century A.D., though the office must have been there for long. The rock inscription (No. 135) of Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman refers to two sets of ministers. The first is the advisory ministers (*mati-sachiva*) and the second is the executive ministers (*karma-sachiva*). The terms *mati* (intellect)

and *karma* (action or executive duty) are self-explanatory in that the first is a group evidently consulted by the king on matters of high policy requiring great intelligence and the second is a group of people having organisational ability and experience in carrying out assigned jobs. The administration under the Sātavāhanas consisted of the ministers (*amātya*) who receive the orders from the king and commit them to writing and the officers (*mahāsvāmī*—not to be confused with the epithet *Svāmī* adopted by the Kushāṇa, the Kshatrapa, the Sātavāhana and the Ikshvāku kings) who compare the drafts (No. 119). Sometimes the drafts of orders were prepared by female chamberlains (No. 130) evidently because the order was issued by the Queen-mother. In these cases the job of writing seems to have included that of writing copies of the order on palm leaf or plate (*paṭṭikā*). A great commander of the army (*mahāsēnāpati*) also writes the order (No. 137). It is probable that since the senior officers were literate the officer who was near at hand irrespective of his rank was engaged in the task of writing out the order of the king. A separate group of officers called *paṭṭikā-pālakas* was entrusted with the responsibility of preserving the orders. They were also occasionally engaged in comparing the copies of the orders.

An inscription (No. 163) from Kirāri in Madhya Pradesh, though available as an imperfect eye-copy, contains a number of designations reflecting the hierarchy of the government in the area in the 2nd century A.D. They are *nagara-rakshins*, *Sēnāpati*, *bhaṭa*, *pratīhāra*, *gaṇaka*, *bhāṇḍāgārika*, *hasty-ārōha*, *pādamūlika*, *mahānasika* etc. The exact rank and other details could not be secured on account of its fragmentary and damaged nature.

Though the administration under the Ikshvākus of Vijayapuri (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa) might have not been very different from the set-up elsewhere as indicated by terms *Sēnāpati*, *Mahāsēnāpati* etc., their inscriptions contain a particular term not met with elsewhere. It is *Mahātalavara* (No. 181) *talavara* of which is evidently Dravidian in origin. This term (*talavara*) is not used separately except as part of a Sanskrit expression *talavaravaraḥ* (No. 200) meaning *Mahātalavara*. It is also significant that most of the persons bearing this title are related by matrimony to the royal house and

it may also explain why the ladies also were described as *Mahā-talavarī* or *Mahāsēnāpatini*, (No. 181 and Ep. Ind., XX, p. 18) even though they had nothing to do with the respective offices.

Two records, one (No. 39) from Mahāsthān, Bogra District, Bangla Desh and the other from Sohgaura, Gorakhpur District, Uttar Pradesh, India speak of the measures taken to deal with occasions of distress among the people. The Mahāsthān inscription refers to situations such as the outbreak of floods, fire and drought on which occasions cash, as well as the grains stored in the granary in times of plenty were required to be distributed to the people. The people are referred to as Samvargīyas living in the region around Mahāsthān. There is nothing specific in the record except palaeography which enables us to place the record probably around the middle of the 3rd century B.C. The other inscription (No. 41) from Sohgaura is attributed to the Mahāmātras stationed in the region, thus assigning it to Mauryan times when officers holding this designation were functioning. It also refers to two three-storeyed granaries one each at Śrīmati and Vamśa-grāma where the surplus produce from the villages Māthura, Chancha, Mayudāma and Bhallaka were required to be stored and distributed in times of distress. A specific condition is that the grains distributed evidently freely need not be collected back from the people. This record is also sought to be placed in the middle of the 3rd century, though there is no specific ground to do so. These two records are very valuable, though rare, in throwing light on the administrator's care and planning to meet situations of distress.

Society

One of the important characteristic features of the inscriptions of the period is the description of males, mostly rulers, as the son of a lady associated with the name of a sage. Called metronymics, they are, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi, Vāsishṭhīputra Chantamūla, Māṭharīputra Vīrapurushadatta etc. These have been understood as Sātakarṇi, son of a lady belonging to Gautama-gōtra, Pulumāvi, son of a lady belonging to Vāsishṭha-gōtra, and so on. The personal names of the ladies are not given except in one case. Gautamī, the mother of Sātakarṇi is named

Balaśrī (No. 134). The names of those sages whose names feature as *gōtra* names include some, if not all, of the seven sages: Atri, Bhṛigu (Bhārgavī), Kutsa (Kautsī), Vasishṭha (Vāsisṭhī) Gautama (Gautamī), Kāśyapa and Aṅgīrasa. Two ladies Amōhinī and Pākshakā are described as Kautsī (No. 75) and Kauśikī (No. 78) respectively, thereby indicating their *gōtras*. Names of other sages like Harita (Hāritī) Garga (Gārgī), Vatsa (Vātsī), Śaunakāyana, are also found in these records. Besides, there are also instances where the metonymics have nothing to do with a sage, e.g., Gōpālīputra, Gōpālī-Vaihidarīputra and Tēvaṇīputra (No. 57). No. 127 affords an instance where the ladies are described as belonging to Aupāsati-*gōtra* and Śainika-*gōtra*, specifically using the expression *gōtra* for the first time. Another instance is provided in No. 215 where the Ikshvāku queen of Śaka origin is stated to have belonged to Bṛihatphalāyana-*gōtra*.

It has been suggested that the respective persons wanted to distinguish themselves from their step brothers (born of the other wives of their fathers).¹ However, no instance of a step-brother in any one case has come up. It is clear that in these cases the *gōtrāntāra* or the change of *gōtra* for a married woman was not essential. It is strange that the *gōtras* of the males in those cases are not given.

The facts that the *gōtra* names are mentioned only in the case of the mothers and that the *gōtras* of the fathers are not given point to the freedom or the need to cite the same in the case of married women. It is not improbable that the ladies in question might have entered into the marital alliance out of their own accord or under circumstances in which the marriage was not arranged by elders. For, two classes of marriage were recognised in ancient times. One class comprises *Brāhma*, *Daiva*, *Ārsha* and *Prājāpatya* pointing to marriages arranged by ceremonial offering of the bride to the bridegroom in which case the woman adopts the *gōtra* of her husband. The other consisting of *Āsura*, *Gāndharva*, *Rākshasa* and *Paiśācha* forms involving self-arranged or forced

¹ The proceedings of the Indian History Congress 1945, Annamalainagar, D.C. Sircar in his paper 'Gōtrāntāra Or The Change of a woman's *gōtra*', pp. 48 ff.

forms in which case the woman chooses to retain her father's *gōtra*.¹ It is however not possible for us to indicate in every such case how the marriage happened.

The parentage or the family affiliation of such women whose *gōtras* are mentioned are only rarely known. No. 215 provides a single instance where Varmabhaṭā a princess of the Śāka-Kshatrapa family and the queen of Ikshvāku king Ehavala Chantamūla, is stated to have belonged to Bahaphala i.e. Bṛihatphalāyana-gōtra. We do not know the circumstances under which this marriage was brought about. But it brings into focus another aspect of the question. The adoption of a *gōtra* by a non-Indian family who had the status of royalty as a result of the prevailing conditions, points to the fact that the foreigners were slowly absorbed into the local social system of their times. The Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas were considered to be twice-born (*dvijas*) even as the Brāhmaṇas were and hence were initiated into some of the Vedic rituals symbolised also by the adoption of a *gōtra*. We have no information as to how the Śāka-Kshatrapas came to be assigned the Bṛihatphalāyana *gōtra*.

The northwestern frontiers of the Indian subcontinent witnessed many tribes of foreigners entering India mostly as invaders. Nearly all of them ruled over some of the tracts in the states now known as Gujarat, Rajasthan, Punjab and United Provinces, not to speak of all the areas in modern Pakistan. Among the earliest and the most prominent were the Greeks. Aśōka refers to Yona or Yavana i.e. Greek settlements alongside the territories of the Kāmbōjas and the Gāndhāras for whom he issued edicts in their language (Nos. 20-23). Aśōka's references (No. 16) to the contemporary kings contain Sanskritisation of their names such as Antioka (Antiochus II Theos), Turamāya (Ptolemy I Philadelphus), Antikini (Antigonos), Maka (Magas) and Alikasudara (Alexander), illustrative of the process of Indianisation in respect of the later foreigners who chose to remain in India. The Greek kings or viceroys right from Demetrius in the second quarter of

¹ The *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, Bangabasi edition, Uttarakhaṇḍa, XXVI, verses 21-22.

the second century B.C. began to issue coins with bilingual legends written one in Greek and other in Indian Prākṛit language written in Kharōṣṭhī script. This was later followed by using Prākṛit alone (No. 47, note 1) in their inscription and also by their adoption of the Buddhist religion. No. 47 is a type of these series, in which the Greek king Menander (Prākṛit *Minadra* Sanskritised as *Mīnēndra*) is associated with the gift of a casket containing Buddha's relics. The next inscription (No. 48) speaks of the installation of a flagstaff bearing the figures of Garuḍa (the bird-mount for the deity Vāsudēva) by Heliodorus (Sanskrit Heliodōra) described as a *Bhāgavata* and as an ambassador of the Greek king Antialkidas (Sanskrit Antalikita). This record contains a citation of a Prākṛit passage which points to his familiarity with the corresponding Sanskrit verses (quoted in note 8, No. 48) found in the *Mahābhārata*, befitting the description of the *Bhāgavata* that he was.

Nos. 47 and 50 provide instances whereby Śāka princes adopted Indian names Vīryakamitra and Vijayamitra whose successors were called Indravarman and Aspavarman. Both the records cite names of solar months of Kārtika and Vaiśākha respectively pointing to the adoption of Indian practices as against those of Indo-Macedonian names which was continued to be used by the Kushāṇas especially in the inscriptions from the north-western region e.g. Nos. 80, 85, 91. Wima Kadphises II, the Kushāṇa ruler was Śaiva by faith as revealed by his coin (No. 83) which has on the reverse a representation of the deity Śiva.

Inscriptions attest to the matrimonial connections of the foreigners with their counterparts in India (Nos. 144, 182 and 215); but are silent regarding their caste status. Contemporary literature however throws some light. Manu (X, 44), Patañjali (commentary on Pāṇini, i, 2, 72) and the *Mahābhārata* state that Śakas, Yavanas, Tushāras and Pahlavas along with various aboriginal tribes were declared to be eligible for the performance of Vedic religious acts and certain minor sacrifices, that Śakas and Yavanas were considered to be Kshatriyas who had gradually sunk to the level of the Śūdras and that the Ābhiras were a caste separate from the Śūdras.

Of considerable social and religious importance are three records. In a brick inscription (No. 42) from Mora in Mathurā in Uttar Pradesh assignable to the 3rd century B.C. a lady called Yaśamatā is described as (a) the daughter of Brīhatsvātimitra, Probably king, (b) the wife of a king whose name is not given and (c) the mother of children yet living. Another inscription (No. 184) assignable to 262 A.D., describes similarly the donatrix Sivas-kandanāgāsī as (a) the daughter of a *mahārāja*, (b) the wife of a *mahābhōji* (chieftain) and (c) the mother of children yet living. Yet another instance is provided in No. 197 where the donatrix Khaṇḍuvulā is described as the queen (*mahādēvī*) whose husband is alive and as the mother whose children are alive. The additional mention of her being with her husband is interesting. The last-mentioned record is engraved on the pedestal of a nude female figure pointing to the making and the worship of the image (mother-goddess) evidently in recognition of the status going with a mother in society. Quite relevant in this connection is another inscription (No. 130) where the queen-mother is described as 'one with her son (i.e. the ruling king) yet living.' In all these cases it is clear that a woman, even as in these days, considered it to be a matter of status and merit to be with her husband and children until death separates her from them. Quite in keeping with this spirit but in a different manner, two widowed women are described in high praise. They are Nāgaṃnikā and Gautamī Balaśrī. The former, the queen of Sātāvāhana Śātakarṇi I (No. 66) having been widowed is described as leading a life observing monthly fasts, religious austerities in the household, abstinence and as an adept in observing pledges related to sacrifices. The latter, the queen mother of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi is described in the record (No. 134) of her grandson Vāsiṣṭhīputra-Pulumāvi as interested in truth, charity, patience, non-violence, penance, control, restraint and abstinence, and as having a bearing of the wife of a royal sage. Thus two pictures reflecting the lives of great women emerge, one, of women who lived and perhaps died in a married state and the other, of widows. Such descriptions are rarely met with in later records.

A glance at the dynastic table of the Ikshvāku dynasty (appendix) will show that Virapurushadatta, son of the first known

Ikshvāku king Chantamūla I married three ladies Bappiśrī, Shasṭhiśrī and another whose name is not given. The first two are described as the daughters of Harmyaśrī, the sister of Chantamūla I and the third is stated to be the daughter of Chāntiśrī, another sister of Chantamūla I. Virapurushadatta had three other queens one of them being a Kshatrapa princess. The point of interest is however the fact that Virapurushadatta married the daughters of his paternal aunts. This type of marriage described as cross-cousin marriage is prevalent in South India even today and there was also another type i.e., the marriage with daughters of mother's brother. Both the types are sanctioned for southerners by such an early work on law as the *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*¹ of about the fifth century B.C. The present instance provides the earliest epigraphic evidence on the first type of such cross-cousin marriages. It seems that it has continued to be so in South India through the ages. Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishna II married Lakshmī, daughter of his maternal uncle (*mātula*) Raṇavigraha Saṅkaragana; Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III also married Vijāmbā, daughter of his maternal uncle Ammaṇadēva of the Kalachuri family. This practice of cross-cousin marriage of the second type referred to above had bestowed on the male the right to ascend the throne inherited through the bride. Chōla Rājarāja I (985-1015 A.D.) gave his daughter Kundavai in marriage to, Vimalāditya, the Eastern Chalukya prince. Rājarāja's son Rājendrachōla I gave his daughter Ammaṅgadēvi in marriage to Rājarāja Narēndra, the son of Vimalāditya and Kundavai. Their son, Kulottuṅga married Madhurāntakī, the daughter of Rājendra II and the grand-daughter of Rājendrachōla I. Chōla princesses of successively two generations married the sons of their paternal aunts i.e., Eastern Chalukya princes of successively two generations married the daughters of their maternal uncles. The last-named Kulottuṅga also inherited the Chōla throne through his wife Madhurāntakī, a Chōla princess.

Economic Condition

The numerous constructions of places of worship of the Buddha and also centres of other faiths, along with the work of

¹ I, ii, 1-4 '*mātula-pitṛisvasṛi duhitṛi-gamana*' sexual relation with daughters of mother's brother and father's sister. See also Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 13.

engraving inscriptions on stone and other materials, the making of images, friezes of sculptures etc., must have generated a lot of economic activity involving both the production and the use of resources. While all the inscriptions give us a picture of such activities, no information is available regarding the financial aspects of such undertakings, except in a solitary instance (No. 182) where the contribution of 170 *dināri-māshakas* by a Kshatrapa queen of the Ikshvāku king and of a pillar for a great monastery under construction is recorded. This however does not give us the value or financing of such constructions.

Next in importance come grants of whole or part of villages and grants of money. Aśōka visited the village Lumbini (Nēpal) in c. 249 B.C. where the Buddha was born, erected a stone pillar with a wall around it and after worshipping the spot made the village free of taxes and stipulated that the village need pay only one eighth of the produce (No. 25). The taxes refer obviously to all other dues to the state except the land-revenue which was also reduced from the usual rate of one-sixth of the produce. Thus the religious importance of the place earned it a substantial reduction in contributing to the state exchequer. The brevity of the record seems to suggest some implied conditions which are found in later records. Numerous records after this date are found referring to the creation of *stūpas* with shrines for the Buddha, images or sculptures etc. Some arrangements should have been made for their maintenance, though the concerned people may not have chosen to record them or perhaps those records are lost. In A.D. 124 (No. 119) the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi confirmed an earlier grant of land in a village and also added a similar extent of land to provide for ascetics living on a hill near Gōvardhana (Nasik). This record gives for the first time the conditions under which the grant was made. The main condition was that nobody, not even the state officials, should interfere with the grant made. It is possible that what was prevalent already by implication in earlier times was reiterated here in writing. This may be compared with similar records in Nos. 130, 132, 137, 172 and 204. In No. 132 there is a specific mention of the grant to the Buddhist mendicants, of a village along with its revenues (*kara*) due to the state. So also in

No. 172 and No. 204 which concern grants made to a deity and brāhmaṇas respectively, the same conditions are specified.

Grants of money are also recorded. Perpetual endowments of money (directly donated or derivable from land) called *akshaya-nīvī* (undecaying capital) were created so that the interest on them may be utilised for the specified purpose. Prāchīnika, a feudatory of Kushāṇa Huvishka, set up an endowment (described as *akshaya-nīvī*) at Mathura in Uttar Pradesh to provide out of its monthly interest for feeding one hundred brāhmaṇas and also the needy and the destitute people at a hall of charity (*puṇya-śālā*) on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight in every month (No. 110). A sum of one thousand *purāṇas* was donated and it was placed equally in two shares with two merchant guilds one dealing in wheat flour; for the other details are not available. Other details are not given. It is apparent that it was a sort of investment the returns from which were considered to be the interest on the amounts and that the concerned guilds would have invested the amounts in such a manner as to ensure productivity which will cover the entire cost and also their own profit. Another inscription (No. 203) records the grant of a village marked as *akshaya-nīvī* but other details are not given. The village was of course, an unimparable capital (also compare No. 195).

Ushavadāta (Rishabhadatta), a great general and the son-in-law of Kshaharāta Kshatrapa Nahapāna, set up in A.D. 123 two endowments, one of land purchased for 400 *kārshāpaṇas* to provide for daily meals to the Buddhist monks residing in the cave excavated by him and the other, of money—a sum of 3000 *kārshāpaṇas* to provide for clothes and welfare (Nos. 114 and 117). The latter, in two sums of 2000 and 1000 *kārshāpaṇas* was entrusted respectively to two guilds of weavers. The first guild was required to pay interest at the rate of one per cent towards clothes and the other at the rate of three-fourth per cent. The variation in the rates of interest is not explained. Besides, a big grant of 72000 *kārshāpaṇas* was set apart for the worship of venerable gods and for the maintenance of brāhmaṇas. The details regarding the investment of this amount are not given while the details of the provision are given in another epigraph (No. 114). Similar endowments are recorded in No. 166

in which case the money was entrusted to four guilds such as weavers or potters, manufacturers of hydraulic machines, oil millers and another (name not available). It is found that most of these guilds are professional bodies engaged in production of commodities, while only a few are merchants trading in such commodities, something like modern chambers of commerce. All these are from Nasik.

No. 195 from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Andhra Pradesh, refers to similar endowments of money in the denomination of local coinage called *dināri* (connected with Roman *denarius*) again entrusted to four guilds—of growers of leaves and of confectioners etc.

A great work for the public good deserves our attention (No. 135). A lake first created by Vaiśya Pushyagupta, a governor under, Chandragupta-Maurya (c. 320 B.C.) at Gīrnār (Junāgaḍh) in Gujarat was improved by a Persian king Tushāspa who was a governor under Aśōka-Maurya (c. 270 B.C.). When the lake was in disrepair on account of a violent cyclone it was completely repaired and was made beautiful at great cost in spite of advice against the same by Rudradāman's council of ministers. The work was carried out by his Minister Suviśākha ruling over the local region. This solitary instance by itself shows that kings were not unmindful of the need for good works for public welfare in spite of their apparent pre-occupation with religious matters which the inscriptions of the period depict so prominently. We may compare this also with the benefactions recorded in No. 67 as having been done by the great Jaina king Khāravēla of Kalinga. Khāravēla had a canal excavated from the locality of Tanasuli (in Bihar) directed to his capital city Kalinganagara, which was originally excavated by King Nanda of Pāṭaliputra (Patna in Bihar).

Religion

Mankind had always attempted to commemorate the dead. In India Dolmens (upright stones) and Megaliths (big stones arranged into a chamber) are known to have been raised by people with burials or relic-like articles preserved underneath in proto-historic times. Regular construction of buildings in their places began only after the advent of Buddhism. The dispersal of Buddha's relics led to the practice of preserving even ordinary human

remains and relics in caskets which lay buried in *Stūpas* specially raised for that purpose, independently or as part of a *Chaitya* (memorial building). The earliest *stūpa* was not however, that of Gautama Buddha but that of Kanakamuni (an earlier realised soul) and this was visited by Aśōka who enlarged the same (No. 26). Since it is not possible to have relics in every *Stūpa*, *Stūpas* raised later after the initial momentum were only symbolically commemorative. The earliest among the first type (barring Piprahwa No. 40) that has survived for a longer time, at least upto the 2nd century A.D., is the one at Sāñchi. An inscription (No. 43) from a pillar of the monument warns against vandalistic practices of removing parts of the building suggesting that the original structure might have undergone changes due to periodic vandalism. However excavations have thrown up a number of parts of the building, mostly inscribed. The most important among them are a few stone boxes containing the relics of eminent Buddhist saints (No. 44).

Both Aśōka and his grandson Dasaratha dedicated caves for the use of Ājīvika ascetics (No. 24 and 37). Similarly it is not improbable that the Buddhist monks also might have been provided with such caves. We come to know of these more during the rule of Sātāvāhanas from Nasik, Kanheri, etc. all in Maharashtra. But it was the *vihāra* complex which came up in large numbers to meet the requirements of increasing number of Buddhists.

Organisational development among the adherents of the Buddhist faith led to the founding of *vihāras* i.e. monasteries which were used by the Buddhist monks as places to dwell, to learn, to meditate and to rest. The *Chaityas* also provided for meditation and worship. Thus, when a full-grown establishment developed it has a *stūpa*, a *chaitya* and a *vihāra*.

In fact we get an instance of neglect, if not vandalism, recorded in an indirect manner, committed on a Buddhist monument within half a century. No. 47 from Shinkot, now in Pakistan, records the establishment of a monument over a relic casket deposited by Viyakamitra during the reign of the Greek king Menander (c. 115-90 B.C.). Another inscription (No. 50) recorded on a casket assignable to about 50 B.C.) refers to the neglected condition of the relic and to the deposit of the bowl (i.e. the casket) by Vijayamitra,

the then ruler. Additional facts of interest mentioned in the record are the cessation of offerings of food-balls and water and also the cessation of ancestor worship.¹

The *vihāra* was also called *saṅghārāma* (No. 80), both the terms signifying the nature of the varied activities of the Buddhist monks such as learning, meditation, walking-about etc. The construction of such *vihāras* in *Kushāṇa* times was influenced by the needs of space for those activities, containing the *stūpa* with the relics or the *chaitya* with both the relic-chamber and the meditation hall, the *chankrama* (No. 87) i.e. the platform around the building often provided with the *Bōdhisatva*'s image under an umbrella (for shade). *Kauśāmba-kuṭī* was one such monastery at *Śrāvastī* (No. 88) where also a *chankrama* was provided with an image of the *Bōdhisatva* under an umbrella. The installation of the image of Buddha in a monastery evidently for the purpose of worship is recorded in an inscription (No. 93) from Mathura. The period of *Kushāṇa* rule witnessed the construction of several monasteries; such as *Ghōshitārāma*, (No. 99) *Suvarṇakāra-vihāra* (No. 100), *Dharma dēva-vihāra* (No. 110), *Dhānyavarma-vihāra* (No. 123), *Mahārāja-Dēvaputra-vihāra* (No. 124), *Vagra-Marēgra-vihāra* etc. across the broad expanse of their kingdom from Mathura in Uttar Pradesh in India to Khawat (Wardak) 46 kms. west of Kabul in Afghanistan, which were so named after the Buddha (*Dharmadēva*), or after the builders like *Ghōshitārāma*, *Dhānyavarma*, *Mahārāja-Dēvaputra* or after professionals like *Suvarṇakāra* (goldsmiths).²

These monasteries were mostly left in charge of teachers of particular Buddhist sects (see below). It is possible that the association of a Buddhist teacher at whose instance the relic casket or the image was set up may imply that the particular teacher was entrusted with its care so that he can have a centre from where he can carry out his functions in respect of the propagation of the faith. At a monastery at Taxila the relics were deposited in association with *Rōhiṇimitra*, a teacher who was possibly left in charge (No. 80). So also was the case in another (No. 92) where one

¹ This is earliest reference to ancestral worship in Epigraphy in a buddhist record.

² For other *viharas* see *Mathura Inscriptions* Lüders Ed. K.L. Janert, under index.

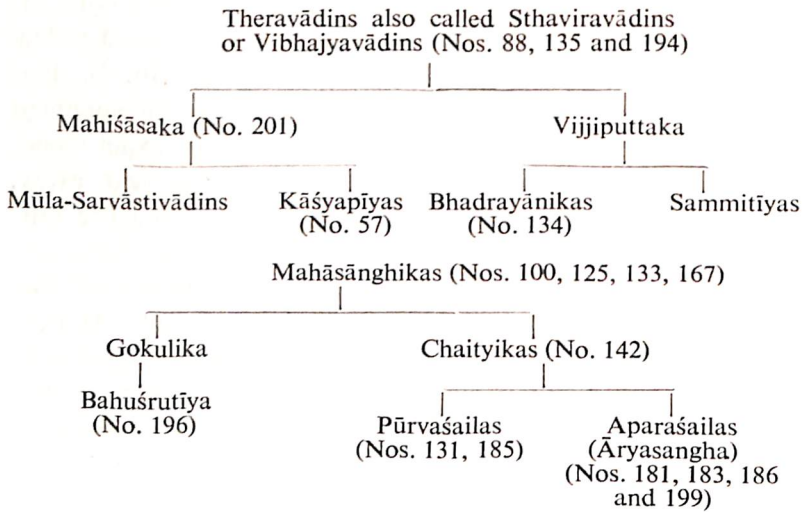
Sanghamittra-rāja is mentioned, at whose instance a well and a cistern were donated. The teachers of the Sarvāstivāda school were entrusted with the care of the monastery of Srāvastī (No. 88) and also with the care of the monastery at Peshawar (No. 96). The teachers of Mahāsaṅghadāsaka school accepted the responsibility of looking after another monastery at Mathura (No. 100).

Buddhist Sects

Aśoka associated himself with the Buddhist Saṅgha for more than a year as a lay devotee (No. 1). This association emboldened him to issue an edict in 257-6 B.C. addressed exclusively to the Buddhist monks and nuns. While he himself grasped the basic moral tenets of Buddhism which were also present in other faiths, the emphasis on these sought to be placed by him urged him to exhort the monks and nuns also to follow them strictly so that his preaching can be effective. He asked them to listen to and reflect on all such texts of Buddha's sayings on the *dharma* (No. 4). It is well-known that these texts are based on the oral pronouncements of the Buddha. Naturally dissensions arose regarding the exact wordings or the intended meanings even before Buddha passed away. When the teachings were committed to writing the clarifications obtained from the Buddha and later on from his chief disciples like Sāriputra, Rāhula etc. were also included in them. Aśoka satisfied himself with this exhortation at the moment. Later in 249 B.C. he had to issue a sternly phrased edict (No. 27) in which the monks and the nuns who create divisions in the *Saṅgha* were warned that they would be made to wear white robes and will be sent to places unfit for even recluses to live. It is probable that the monks and the nuns who were members of the Saṅgha dwelling deep in the patronage of the emperor might have tried to assert themselves in matters of the *Saṅgha*. Aśoka's reference to division in the Saṅgha is possibly to the growing number of sects within the Buddhist order. Notwithstanding his exertion in this respect divisions began to grow as it happened even before Aśoka's reign. In fact the main split occurred around 386 B.C. when the second council of the Saṅgha was summoned. Monks belonging to the eastern parts of North India including Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra formed their own sect as against those of the west based at Kauśāmbī and Avanti.

The main difference was on the adoption of ten rules of discipline by the eastern group, hereafter designated as *Mahāsāṅghikas* on account of their broad base. The rules include practices like storing of salt, over-eating, acceptance of gold and silver etc. Besides, other differences reported are the supermundane nature of the Buddha, the Bōdhisatvas and the Arhats believed by the *Mahāsāṅghikas*. The other sect called Theravādins was conservative in nature. It will be seen that the *Mahāsāṅghika* views contained the seeds of the later *Mahāyāna* system of Buddhism in which the deification, worship etc., of Buddha are propagated.

Minor differences among the adherents of both the schools began to show up leading to further divisions. For, dissension once permitted begins to multiply. The divisions in respect of both the sects can be shown in the following table:¹



The two sects fanned out across India, the Sarvāstivādins from Mathura towards the north-west and the Mahāsāṅghikas from Pāṭaliputra (Patna) towards both the west and the south. In the course of their migration to the south at Amārāvati-Dharaṇīkōṭa (Dhānyakāṭaka) and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Vijayapurī), they separated into further divisions as indicated in the table.

¹ Adopted from table facing p. 224 in 'Early History of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools' by Nalinaksha Dutt. See also his *Buddhist Sects in India*, pp. 306 f; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 377-390.

It will be seen from the tables and the references given that the various sects had vied with one another in getting the custody of the monasteries entrusted to them by the donors who had caused the monasteries and the associated structures to be built. Besides, some of the centres catered to the material and spiritual needs of Buddhist pilgrims, lay as well as ascetic, hailing from other parts of India and adjacent countries like Kaśmīra, Gandhāra, Chīna, Kirāta, Tosali, Aparānta, Yavana, Damila and the island of Tāmraparṇi (now Śrī Lanka) (Nos. 185 and 194).

Vedic religions

The royal patronage extended to Jainism and to Buddhism by Aśōka and Kushāṇa kings sustained the spread and popularity especially of Buddhism. It continued to be so during the following periods of rule of the Sātavāhanas in the Deccan and of the Ikshvākus in the Krishṇā valley in present Andhra Pradesh. The predominance of Buddhism, reflected by the large number of Buddhist inscriptions during this period, may make it appear that the religions based on the Vedic scriptures had only a minor or marginal existence. The religious practices of the Buddhists in erecting large number of *stūpas* and *vihāras*, mostly in brick with stone pavements or abutments, contributed to the survival of remains connected with that religion while the other religions seem to have been slow in setting up equally lasting monuments. However the few inscriptions that have survived show that the kings of this period were not oblivious of the need to be tolerant towards the adherents of the Vedic faiths.

About the beginning of the Christian era we find a few kings of the Scytho-Parthian origin ruling over the regions around Mathura in Uttar Pradesh. The few records belonging to the reign of Mahākshatrapa Śōdāsa, the most important among them, are interesting from the religious point of view. They, with one exception, speak eloquently about the creation of temple-complexes dedicated to the deities of the Vedic pantheon. This one exception (No. 75) pertains to the installation of a tablet bearing the figure of Arhat (Jina Vardhamāna) by Kautsī Amōhinī along with her sons. The year 72 (A.D. 15) given in the inscription is assignable to the

era called *Vikrama* later on, founded in 57 B.C. by the Scytho-Parthian group to which Śōḍāsa belonged. The other records of his reign are assigned to the period from 10 to 25 A.D. since they are either not dated or the dates in them are not to be made out. One of them (No. 76) couched in both Sanskrit prose and verse refers to a stone temple, the first of its kind known to us, where the images of the five heroes belonging to the *Vṛishṇi* family, obviously referring to Sankarshaṇa, Vāsudēva (Kṛishṇa), Pradyumna, Sāmba and Aniruddha were set up. This is the earliest instance in which the deification of Kṛishṇa, the famous hero of the Hindu epic, the *Bhāgavata*, and his associates,¹ is recorded. In fact, the earliest instance in which the worship of Vāsudēva (Vishṇu, by another name) is referred to is the record in No. 48 dated in 113 B.C. This inscription from Besnagar in Madhya Pradesh registers the erection of a column having the figure or image of Garuḍa, the winged bearer of god Vāsudēva by a Greek turned *Bhāgavata* called Heliadora (Heliodoros). The description of the donor as *Bhāgavata* is quite interesting as it implies the strong Vaishṇavite movement i.e., Bhāgavata cult in North India. Chronologically speaking, the next instance is found in a record (No. 52) from Ghōsūṇḍī near Nagarī in Rajasthan where a place of worship for Sankarshaṇa and Vāsudēva was provided with a stone enclosure, the entire complex being called Nārāyaṇavāṭaka. The present record (No. 76) of Śōḍāsa seems to give a complete picture of the deities being referred to as five heroes (*pañcha-vīras*) mentioned above. Another noteworthy feature is the use of Sanskrit in both the later cases (Nos. 52 and 76) pointing to the refinement that went with the development. These trends continued to be kept up by the following three inscriptions belonging to the reign of Śōḍāsa. Together they record the construction of a temple complex at Mathurā for god Vāsudēva by the members of one family, the husband, the wife and their son. Mūlavasu a *brāhmaṇa* officer of Śōḍāsa designated as a treasurer (*gāṇjavara*) of Śōḍāsa, belonging to the Śaigravagōtra got a tank (*pushkariṇī*) on the western side of a specified area along

¹ We are inclined to adopt this view even though Lüders who edited first this record considers that the five heroes refer to Baladēva, Akrura, Anāḍrishṭha, Sāraṇa and Vidūratha on the basis of some Jaina remains of this period (vide No. 75 mentioned above). The other inscriptions support our view.

with a reservoir, grove, a pillar and a stone-slab (No. 77). Another set of the same constructions on the eastern side was arranged for by Pākshakā, a Kauśikī, the wife of Mūlavasu and the mother of Vasu (No. 78). But in this case the stone-slab is said to contain a figure (*pratimā*) of goddess Śrī (i.e. Lakshmī, the wealth-bestowing consort of Lord Viṣṇu). The slab bearing the inscription about the donation, also contains a crude sketch of a symbolic representation of the goddess Lakshmī. Vasu, the son of Mūlavasu and Pākshakā built the temple (*dēvakula*) along with an arched entrance (*tōraṇa*) and a railing (*vēdikā*) in front of the temple. It seems that this practice of raising temple-complexes was prevalent during the first century A.D. Another (but damaged) inscription (No. 77, note 1) probably belonging to the Kushāṇa king Vīma Kadphises refers to a similar contribution of tank, reservoir, grove etc.

Equally prominent was the worship of Śiva, though there are not as many records as in the case of Viṣṇu. The gold coins of the Kushāṇa king Vīma Kadphises contains a representation of Śiva (No. 83). An inscription (No. 104) from Mathurā assignable to the first century A.D. records the construction of shrines, a tank called Kalpa, a garden, a hall and stone-slabs. It ends with a prayer that god Mahēśvara (i.e. Śiva) be pleased. The context clearly suggests that the temple-complex is Saivite in affiliation while the nature of the construction follows the pattern already described above in respect of god Viṣṇu. The pattern clearly suggests the purpose for which each of these items is meant. The tank is meant for sacred use in respect of bath, ablutions etc. The reservoir is perhaps to be used as a reserve to store water for drinking (*udapāna*). The grove or garden is obviously intended to provide flowers for worship. The pillars and stone-slabs might have been marked for engraving records of donations or use in the building. The hall is well-known as an adjunct to any sacred structure for people to congregate and meditate. Except in the case of the slabs, the material used in the construction is not indicated.

The religious affiliation of two of the several sketches on the rocky faces along the 'Silk route' in the Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir on the way to China is interesting. Amidst the other carvings of

Buddhistic features like *stūpa* (No. 61) or the *triratna* (No. 63), these two contain labelled carvings of the deity Śiva (No. 58) and of the deities Balarāma and Kṛishṇa (No. 59). The former is said to be that of Mahēśa (Śiva) contributed by Varēhamaha whose identity is not disclosed. The latter is found to be the contribution from a person called Dharmaputra recalling the famous hero Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the five brothers whose story is depicted in the *Mahābhārata*. The writing of the labels near or below the carvings belong to the first century B.C. Equally interesting is the copper coin (No. 54) of the Mālavas assignable to the same period. Coins of this type bear the figure of a radiant Sun, snake, lion, humped bull or peacock which have definite associations with the deities worshipped by the adherents of the Vedic faith. Coins of the Yaudhēyas also (No. 55) contain figures of bull and elephant. Quite significantly the coins (No. 162) of these Yaudhēyas assignable to the 2nd century A.D. contain the figure of the six-headed god (Kārtikēya, son of Lord Śiva) and also of the six-headed goddess Kṛittikā (obviously represented in the skies by the six-star group Orion). The legend on these coins mention the deity Brahmaṇya-dēva (later elaborated as Subrahmaṇya, another name for Kārthikēya).

The invocatory passage in the inscription (No. 66) of the queen Nāgannikā of the Sātavāhana royal family refers to the deities Prajāpati, Dharma, Indra, Sankarshaṇa-Vāsudēva, Chandra-Sūrya and the four protectors of the world Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vāsava. The list clearly points to the popularity and the development of the concepts about the various divinities of the pristine Vedic faith. Though they are grouped differently it should be noted that Dharma and Indra were considered to be different from Yama and Vāsava. As a contrast we find the Hāthīgumphā inscription (No. 67) of Khāravēla, himself a Jaina, quoting the example of Vēna, an anti-Vēdic mythological king who caused disrespect to the Vēdas and sacred observances thereof. The Sātavāhana Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is said to have equalled in lustre the Puranic heroes adhering to the Vedic faith such as Nala, Nābhāga, Nahusha, Janamējaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma and Ambarīsha (No. 134). This king is said to have crushed the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas and also to have stopped the commingling of the

four castes. It is however another story when a member of his family Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi had to marry a princess possibly a daughter of Rudradāman, a mahākshatrapa of the Kārdamaka family (No. 144) which brought fame or influence for the Kshatrapa king (No. 135). This was obviously in retaliation to Gautamiputra's elimination of the Kshatrapas of the Kshaharāta family as claimed by him (No. 134). Thus though the Vēdic leanings of the members of the Sātavāhana family are very clear, nearly all their records except No. 66 record benefactions made to Buddhist monks. The same situation of tolerance also obtained in the case of the Ikshvākus who ruled from Vijayapurī (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa) as the successors of the Sātavāhanas. The Vedic affiliation of the first Ikshvāku ruler, Chantamūla, is evident from the inscriptions of his successors, as he is described as the performer of several sacrifices and grantor of generous gifts of lands, cows and gold to brāhmaṇas. He is also compared to Sagara, Dilīpa, Ambarīsha and Yudhisṭhira for his dēvotion to *dharma* and to Rāma in satisfying and pleasing all his people (No. 203). But while the affiliation of his successors (except prince Virapurushadatta) is not clear, all the female members of the royal family of Ikshvākus were greatly devoted to the cause of Buddhism as proved by their construction of *chaityas*, *stūpas*, *maṇḍapas*, pillars etc., partly or wholly (Nos. 181-3; 185-6, 196, 201). Even the Kshatrapa princess Rudradhara-bhaṭṭārikā, the queen of Vāsishṭhīputra Virapurushadatta, the son of Chantamūla, contributed substantially towards the construction of a *chaitya* by the latter's sister Chāntīśrī (No. 182). However during the rule of Ehavala Chantamūla the influence of the Saivite religion is very much in evidence. Three instances prove this. Firstly the construction of a temple for Noḍagiśvarasvāmin with an enclosure was done for the king's victory and long life by a group of ladies among whom only the names of Bhagavatī, the superintendent of the harem and Ratavasā, the daughter of a merchant are preserved (No. 195). The epithet Īśvara in the deity's name points to the deity being Śiva named after a donatrix whose full name is lost. The second instance is recorded in an inscription (No. 200) in Sanskrit verse. *Mahātalavara* Ēlīśrī, the son of Gāṇḍī and the grandson of Aṇikki, a famous general, described as a devotee of Kārttikēya (son of Lord Śiva) built a great temple for

Sarvva (Śiva). The third instance is provided in No. 203 which is in Sanskrit prose. It begins with an invocation to god Mahādēva Pushpabhadrasvāmin (Śiva) and records the construction of a temple (*dēvakula*) and a flagstaff for Pushpabhadrasvāmin and also the gift of a village as a perpetual endowment by *Mahārāja-kumāra*, *Mahāsēnāpati* Vīrapurushadatta, the son of Ehavala Chantamūla and Kuṇḍaśrī for the merit of the latter.

The Ābhīras who came from some part of Eastern Irān seem to have settled at first in northern Sindh. They are found to be in the service of the Śaka Kshatrapas. An inscription (No. 154) from Gundā in Gujarat records the excavation of a well with proper embankments at a place called Rasōpadri in 181 A.D. by Ābhira Rudrabhūti, the commander of the army. His father Bāpaka also is described as the commander of the army. The status of both father and son points to the rise of the Ābhīras to a position of importance under the Śakas who also were a foreign tribe. It did not take much time for the Ābhīras to follow the example of their Śaka masters who rose under, and then overthrew, the Kushāṇas to become the rulers of the latter's south-western possessions. An Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna, son of Śivadatta-Ābhīra, was ruling from Nasik in North-western Deccan in about 212 A.D. (No. 166). Another king Vasushēṇa belonging to this tribe is found to be the ruling king at Vijayapurī (modern Nāgārjunakoṇḍa) in lower Deccan according to an inscription (No. 175) in which his general Śivasēba is reported to have reinstalled a wooden image of Aṣṭa-bhujasvāmi (Lord Kṛishṇa). The establishment of Ābhīra rule first at Nasik in Maharashtra and its extension down south into Andhra Pradesh covering the areas under the rule of the Sātavāhanas points to their being the political successors of the Sātavāhanas and this explains why we have placed them before the rise of the Ikshavākus of Vijayapurī who were also the successors of the Sātavāhanas.

Both D.C. Sircar and Sankaranarayanan have placed Ābhīra Vasushēṇa in the period between Vīrapurushadatta and Ehavala Chantamūla¹ and in the period after Ehavala Chantamūla² respectively. The main point to be considered in this respect is

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 202 ff.

² *JAIH*, XV, pp. 164-193.

whether the Greeks of Sañjayapurī, Rudradāman of Avanti, Vishṇurudraśivalānanda Śatakarṇi of Vanavāsi are to be considered as contemporaries and vassals of Ābhīra Vasushēṇa as both the above named scholars aver. The general trend of the text seems to suggest that the aforementioned persons had come to Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in a sequence one after another and that in the course of their visit had failed to renovate (*na chālitaḥ*) the place where the deity was installed. This would solve the problem of identifying and placing them chronologically and also the problem of understanding the parenthetical phrase (*sthānatōpi na chālitaḥ*), in the text. The Greek chiefs of Sajñyapurī might have accompanied the Śaka kings earlier to Rudradāman mentioned next. The presence of Rudradāman at Vijayapurī is clearly an extension of his own campaigns against the Sātāvāhanas. It was only natural for a power like the Śakas to cultivate the friendship of the people beyond the domains of Sātāvāhanas, their enemies, providing a good example of the *maṇḍala* theory (making the enemy's enemy a friend) of political science. The Vanavāsi ruler Vishṇurudraśivalānanda Śatakarṇi also might have tried to penetrate eastward in the wake of Sātāvāhana decline. It was perhaps given to the Ābhīra Vasushēṇa who just visited Vijayapurī to get the wooden image of Aṣṭabhujaśvami reinstalled, thus leaving the field free for the Ikshvākus to rise and set up their own rule.

Apart from the erection of the few temple complexes described above, the practice of performing sacrifices involving oblations through fire to propitiate the concerned deities was also prevalent. It is well-known that Aśōka was not in favour of killing animals generally and more so in respect of sacrifices (No. 5). It is however found that though, at first, the momentum of this abstention from animal sacrifice gained due to Aśōka's efforts, it however did not last for long at all. For the last Maurya king Bṛihadraṭha was killed by Śuṅga Pushyamitra in c. 187 B.C., who performed Aśvamēdha (horse) sacrifice twice (No. 74). The next epigraphical reference to the performance of the Vedic sacrifice occurs in Nos. 52 and 53 respectively from Ghōsūṇḍī in Rajasthan and Musanagar in Uttar Pradesh. The former No. 52 refers to Sarvatāta, a king who had performed the Aśvamēdha sacrifice. It is a sacrifice (i.e. sacra-

mental killing) of a horse as a symbol of the performer's superiority or sovereignty over his contemporaries within the areas traversed at will by the horse. The horse is led to wander over all regions uninterrupted or unchallenged and to return triumphantly signifying the kings's supremacy and the horse is then ceremoniously sacrificed. The latter inscription (No. 53) of about the same period is a record on brick which itself was probably a remnant of the altar used for the Aśvamēdha sacrifice by another king Dēvimitra. Both these are assignable to the latter half of the first century B.C.

No less important is another record (No. 66) of the same period belonging to a queen of the Sātavāhana dynasty. This inscription gives a very detailed list of sacrifices performed by king Sātakarṇi accompanied by his queen Nāgannikā involving intense fasting and abstinence. Though damaged the inscription gives sufficient details to show that there was a very generous distribution of wealth by way of fees to several brāhmaṇas on the occasion of those sacrifices. Two Aśvamēdha sacrifices were also performed. The number of sacrifices proves the great influence of Vedic *Karma-kāṇḍa* in the period of this king. Even the Jaina king Khāravēla of this period performed the Rajasūya sacrifice symbolically (not involving the killing of any animal) only to establish his suzerainty over other kings (No. 67). In the reign (in c. 100 A.D.) of king Kumāravīradatta of an unknown dynasty are recorded the grant of one thousand cows to Brāhmaṇas by his Minister and General Praushthadatta and the grant of a similar number of cows and garments to Brāhmaṇas at a sacred place called Ṛishabhatīrtha. No sacrifice is however mentioned. The survival of a brick from a site in Musānagar, in Kanpur District, Uttar Pradesh, where the Aśvamēdha sacrifice was performed by Dāmamitra, attests to the continuation of this performance by kings to the end of the 1st century A.D. Commemorative pillars (*yūpa*) mostly in stone, began to appear from this period onwards recording the performance of sacrifices other than Aśvamēdha. No. 106 is an inscription recorded on such a pillar at Kōsam (Kauśāmbi) near Allahabad. Though the inscription is fragmented, it reveals that seven Vedic sacrifices were performed in a period ending with, probably, the 23rd year of the reign of a king whose name is now lost but obviously was of some importance *then*. These sacrifices should have

been commemorated by seven pillars, though the pillar erected for the fifth sacrifice viz., Vājapēya got the inscription engraved on it (No. 106, note 3). It is significant that the inscription ends with a prayer to Lord Śiva. The succeeding inscription (No. 107) is another *yūpa* record stating that the pillar was erected after the performance of a sacrifice lasting for 12 nights (note 2) by a brāhmaṇa adherent of the Sāmavēda. The prayer that the sacred fires (note 4) be pleased is significant pointing to the householder's duty of keeping a perpetual fire in the altar of the house by brāhmaṇas. This was also during the period of the Kushāṇas for, the inscription is dated in Śaka 24 (A.D. 102) in the reign of Vāsishka, proving the tolerance of subjects professing the Vedic religion. The find-spot of the inscription is right at Isāpur in Mathurā (Uttar Pradesh) the capital city where Buddhism and Jainism were dominant. Lest we should think that it was only a phenomenon occurring in one part of the country, we get another inscription dated in A.D. 105 in distant Belgaum in Karnataka which commemorates the services of Sōmayaśas, a brāhmaṇa from Sākēta (Ayōdhyā in Uttar Pradesh) who had performed eighty (80) sacrifices including Vājapēya. Even donors affiliated to Buddhism did not fail to honour and support brāhmaṇas. Aśoka, though a Buddhist himself, urged his subjects to respect and honour brāhmaṇas also along with members of the other faiths (p. 27). A record from Mathurā dated (A.D. 106) in the reign of Kushāṇa Huvishka speaks of the arrangements made for feeding one hundred needy brāhmaṇas with the interest out of a capital endowment set up for the purpose at the hall of charity (*puṇyaśālā*) which was also donated, all by Prāchīnīka, a chief of two villages. The provision included the supply of groats, salt, beverage and vegetables. The feeding is marked for the day penultimate to every full-moon day. Similarly in A.D. 119 an endowment for feeding one hundred thousand brāhmaṇas was set up by Ṛishabhadatta (Ushavadāta), the son-in-law of Kshaharāta-Kshatrapa Nahapāna. This was one among many other deeds of charity by him including the securing of eight brides for brāhmaṇas. The record (No. 114) is intended mainly to register the gift of cisterns and a cave, on which it is engraved that it is for the benefit of Buddhist monks. It is noteworthy that the land donated for the purpose of feeding them was purchased from

a brāhmaṇa. The Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarni, himself an 'unique brāhmaṇa', was naturally concerned with the welfare of the families of brāhmaṇas. No details, however, are forthcoming and this statement is in the record (No. 134) of his son Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi which records the dedication of a cave to Buddhist monks. Long after this instance we come across a very telling evidence of the performance of sacrifices and generous gifts to brāhmaṇas, in a record assignable to A.D. 226. This inscription (No. 168) refers, among other things, to the final continuous offering of ghee which satisfies all the desires of the performer matched equally by the continuous gift of wealth to the brāhmaṇas to satisfy all their desires (*sarva-kām-aughadhārām Vasōrd-dhārām-iva*), by Sōma, a chief of the Mālava tribe. The ghee offering was the finale of a big sacrifice called *ēkashashṭhirātra* (No. 168, note 9). He also made gifts of several hundreds of thousands of cows. This is commemorated by a stone pillar (*yūpa*) at Nandsā in Rajasthan. Another epigraph (No. 169) closely following this both in date and provenance records the erection of seven pillars. Similar in nature is No 173 which records the performance of the *trirātra* sacrifice by three Maukhari generals, again in Rajasthan. Also in Andhra Pradesh is witnessed the rise of the first king of the Ikshvāku family, Chantamūla, who is stated to have performed the Vedic sacrifices including the Aśvamēdha and who had endowed many cultivable lands, cows and gold (on brāhmaṇas).

Language, Literature and Script

A majority of the inscriptions included in this volume is in a language called *Prākṛitam*. The views regarding the meaning of this word are discussed above.¹ Irrespective of the arguments, whether *Prākṛitam* appeared first leading to *Saṃskṛitam*, the refined form of speech, or *Prākṛitam* is derived from *Sanskṛitam*, the natural source of speech, there is no doubt that *Prākṛitam* stands between the most popular forms of speech serving as a base for expressions in the course of everyday life and the most refined forms of speech serving as the base for fine literary productions created for the purposes of amusement or spiritual experience.

¹ p. xix.

Inscriptions seem to prove this point in an ample measure by exhibiting the regional or dialectal differences, though the aspect of their relationship to the contemporary literature remains to be closely studied (see concordance of Prākṛit and Sanskrit expressions preceding the general index).

Complete and detailed studies on the language of the Aśōkan edicts have been made by many scholars including Hultsch,¹ Mehendele² etc. A brief review of the broad features of the language of Aśōka's edicts is presented here. The inscriptions show features assignable to some regions. All the western and north-western versions of Aśōka's edicts from Girnar (Nos. 5 and 6, Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra (Nos. 11, 13 and 15) contain a peculiar tendency of transposing the *rēpha* to a place before the letter on which it is to be placed, e.g. *dhrama* instead of *dharma*, *Priyadraśi* instead of *Priyadarśi*. Versions from other places like Kalsi, Dhauli, Yerragudi etc. do not use these forms which cannot all be dismissed as mistakes. The form *raño* (king) is used instead of *rājā* in the Girnar versions and of *lāja* or *laja* in many other versions. Most of the versions at Girnar show forms which are nearer to their corresponding forms in Sanskrit. The rest present far too many corrupted forms which probably were nearer to the forms of speech prevailing in such areas e.g. versions from Jaugaḍa and Dhauli in Orissa. A comparative study of the two versions reveals this point, thus presenting sharply different dialectal features which were probably incorporated in the respective versions by the appropriate authorities.

A general table of words in Prākṛit forms used in the Edicts with the corresponding forms in Sanskrit will give us an idea of the process obtained in the two languages. The Second Rock Edict from Girnar (No. 6) is taken up here for the purpose:

	Prākṛit	Sanskrit
1	सर्वत—Sarovata	सर्वत्र—Sarovatra
2	राज्ञो—rāñō	राज्ञः—rājnah

¹ C.I. I. I, p. lvi-cxxxi.

² *Aśōkan Inscriptions in India, A Linguistic Study with an exhaustive bibliography.*

3	पचंतेसु—rpacham̐tesu	प्रत्यन्तेषु—pratyantēshu
4	केतलपुतो—Kētalaputo	केरलपुत्रः—Kēralaputraḥ
5	पि—pi	अपि—api
6	मनुस चिकीछा—manusa chkičhā	मनुष्यचिकित्सा—manushya chikitsā
7	पशुचिकीछा—pasu chikīchā	पशुचिकित्सा—paśuchikitsā
8	ओसुद्धानि—osudhāni	औषधानि—aushadhāni
9	वृच्छा—rvachhā (for vrachhā)	वृक्षाः—vṛikshāḥ

The *rēpha* is dropped as in *tra* in item 1. The letter *ja* of the conjunct consonant *jña* is dropped in item No. 2. Item 3 illustrates the misplacement of the *rēpha* and the substitution of *cha* for *tya* and *sa* for *sha* of Sanskrit. In Kēṭala, *ta* is used in place of *ra* (item 4). The letter *a* is dropped out of *api* in item 5. The word *chikitsā* is written as *chikīchhā* (item 6). The letter *śa* is replaced by *sa* (item 7). The word *aushadhāni* is written as *ōsudhāni* (8). The letter *ksha* is replaced by *chhā* in Prākṛit (9). An exhaustive study of this aspect of the language being beyond the ken of this section, readers are referred to the table of synoptical texts of Aśōkan Edicts which include *all* the versions of the same so far discovered.¹ Since all the versions of an edict are not reproduced in this volume a sample from the synoptical texts is reproduced here for illustrative information:

Place	Passage			
Girnar	Sarvata	vijitamhi	Devānampiyasa	Piyadasino rāño
Kalsi	Savatā	vijitasi	Devānampiyasā	Piyadasi-sā lājine
Shahbazgarhi	Savratra	vijitē	Devanampriyasa	Priyadrasisa
Mānsehra	Savatra	vijitasi	Devanamripasa	Priyadrasisa rajine
Dhauli	Savata	Vijitasi	Devānampiyasa	Priyadasinal
Jaugaḍa	Savata	vijitasi	Devānampiyasa	piyadasine lājine

¹ Hultzsch, *C. I. I.* I, pp. 183 ff.; Sircar, *Aśōkan Studies* pp. 132 ff. The second reference contains only synoptical texts of Minor Rock Edicts I and II while the first reference contains synoptical texts of all the Rock Edicts only.

Only an indication of the lines along which such changes occur is provided here to stimulate further interest in the subject. These dialectal variations have given rise to appellations to such forms, as Māgadhi, Saurasēnī, Paiśāchī, Mahārāshṭrī, etc., identified as such by later authors and grammarians. Among these names, except Paiśāchī, the rest seem to go with the names of the regions where the particular forms of dialect were in use.

Aśōka's inscriptions display a few characteristics in respect of diction and presentation. Often he uses the expression *kimti* or *kiti* i.e. *kim iti* in Sanskrit to interject and explain 'why he says so' (Nos. 1, 2, 4, 10 etc.) It seems to remind the reader or the listener, of the purpose for which he makes a particular statement as if he is in conversation with the people for whom the message is intended. Besides he repeats many statements deliberately in different contexts for the sake of sweetness (*madhuratā*) as he himself says (No. 17). The drafts are said to have been prepared in various forms such as concise, medium or elaborate forms. These forms have naturally an effect on the style of the drafts. The styles show in most cases exhortations, in a few cases stern warnings and in a few other cases appeals to future generations. Most of his records (Nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, etc.) are drafted in an impersonal manner i.e. they begin by saying that 'Aśōka says thus' or 'orders thus' and then revert to personal statements as 'as done by me' or 'I desire' (Nos. 1, 2, and 18). The records are closed with the phrase *ti* i.e., *iti*-thus obviously referring to the opening sentence that 'Aśōka says thus (*ēvam*)'. Hultzsch draws our attention to the fact that this word also written as *ēva* in the ninth rock edict was used nearly throughout in the Ṛig-vēda in the sense of *ēvam*.¹

Aśōka's edicts were engraved on rocks and pillars spread over several parts of his domain. The rocks on which they were engraved are located in most cases in normally inaccessible places and also wherever all the edicts in a set were engraved they occupied the surface of the rocks not readable from ground level. Considered from the practical point of view, one is left to wonder whether the records were meant to be read by every passerby if ever anybody passed that way. While the language of the edict might

¹ Hultzsch, op. cit., p. lviii, note 2.

have been intelligible to the common man if read out it is doubtful whether every person would have been able to read it. Three edicts (Nos. 9, 18, 19, and 27) requires the Mahāmātras, Dharma-Mahāmātras and other officers who were placed 'high over thousands of living beings' (No. 18) to read out specific edicts on the day of Tishya, probably the constellation under which Aśōka was born and also on every *chāturmāsi* day (i.e., the last day of every fourth, month—the full-moon day of the months of Āshāḍha (July-August), Kārttika (November-December) and Phālguna (March-April). The Sarnath Minor Pillar Edict of Aśōka (No. 27) suggests that lay followers of the Buddhist Saṅgha also got copies of the particular order either to read themselves or listen to the reading of it. The seventh pillar Edict of Aśōka (No. 34) says clearly that Rajjukas placed over many hundred-thousands of people and Dharma-Mahāmātras should preach the message recorded on pillars set up for the purpose. Thus the language of the edicts might have been nearer to the popular forms of speech even though the edicts could not be read by people themselves for reasons like the inaccessibility and probably illiteracy.

Two inscriptions in Prākṛit language (Nos. 40 and 45) are in verse form though their metres cannot be ascertained correctly. But the fact that they are set in verse form is significant. The former (No. 40) contains only a matter-of-fact statement about the depositing of Buddha's mortal remains by two persons in company with their families. The latter (No. 45) is more poetic both in form and content. It describes the spring festival on the occasion of a full-moon when people revel in fun and frolic and also refers to the poets' efforts to compose pleasing poems on account of the inspiration that they derive on the occasion. This description coupled with the romantic event of a sculptor's attachment to a lady Sutanukā, attending a temple recorded in an inscription (No. 46) in the same place points to the earliest recorded reference to Prākṛit poetry. All known instances of Prākṛit poetry or literature like Hāla's *Gāthāsaptasati* in Mahārāshṭrī Prākṛit or Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛihatkāthā* in Paiśāchi Prākṛit belong to the period (about 2nd century B.C.) after the dates of these two inscriptions.

With a thorough change in the purpose of engraving records

after Aśōka's times the language of the inscriptions, though they continued to be in Prākṛit, falls into a set pattern of a stereotyped draft recording mainly the year of the era, the king's name, the details about the donor and the object of the gift. They start generally with a benediction or sometimes end with it. They no longer convey any message like Aśōkan inscriptions which spoke of *Dharma*. It is in this context that when both the royalty and the laity began to have the facts of their donations recorded on stone, the admixture of Sanskrit with Prākṛit or the influence of Sanskrit forms on Prākṛit commenced to occur gradually. The Garuḍa pillar inscription of Heliodōra (No. 48) is an instance to the point. It is not a mere coincidence that the non-Buddhist character of similar records that followed afterwards promoted the use of Sanskrit at least partially if not wholly, thus paving the way for the appearance of records in Sanskrit language though very sparingly upto the rise of the Guptas.

In the earliest instance where a record in Prākṛit language (No. 42) is influenced by Sanskrit the contents also seem to bear out the Vedic background of the subject-matter. It records some construction, non-Buddhistic in nature, by a lady whose noble birth from Bṛihatsvātimitra a celebrity of the times, whose status was that of a royal consort and whose children were then living, thus proclaiming her auspiciousness and fullness of life.

A glance through the numerous records the language in which is Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit (Nos. 42, 48, 53, 55, 57, 66, 70, 75 etc.) or vice versa (Nos. 77-79, 82, 89, 91, 93 etc.) will reveal that even the difference in their religious orientation i.e. Vedic or non-vedic ceased to have any influence ultimately leading to the adoption of Sanskrit as the dominant medium in which the inscriptions were drafted. The very few Sanskrit inscriptions that are found in this collection reflect only partially the situation in respect of the use of Sanskrit in the literary field which falls outside the pale of Epigraphical usages. For, it is obvious that the standard of Sanskrit diction represented by those few records that will be discussed below would not have come up so suddenly. The introduction of Sanskrit seems to have begun with a short inscription (No. 52) registering the construction of an enclosure called Nārāya-

ṇavātaka for a place of worship to the deities Sankarshaṇa-Vāsu-dēva by king Sarvatāta who had performed the horse-sacrifice symbolising his extensive sovereignty. This is followed by the issues of coins (Nos. 54 and 56) bearing legends in Sanskrit and also emblems showing affinity with the Vedic faiths. The Hāthīgumphā cave inscription (No. 67) of Khāravēla from Orissa seems to be the first inscription showing the features of poetic style, though composed in prose. The inscription is in Prākṛit language, not of the usual type met with in all other records, but resembling Pāli, the canonical language of the Jains and the Buddhists. However the inscription contains germs of the features of classical literary style such as alliteration, long compounds and simple similies appropriate to the religious inclination of the ruler (as in *Vēnābhivijaya*, *kaparukhē* etc.). Three inscriptions (No. 77-79) from Mathurā (Uttar Pradesh) record the construction of a temple-complex each part of which was raised by the members of the family of Mūlavasu, a brāhmaṇa official of Śōḍāśa, a Scytho-Parthian king who ruled over the region around Mathurā in the early decades of the first century A.D. Quite in keeping with the Vedic affiliation of the deities for whom the constructions were raised the records (No. 76-79) are in Sanskrit with a sprinkling of Prākṛit usages in the epithets of the king or the like. No. 76, a fragmentary record contains portions of a Sanskrit verse *Bhujangavijṛimbhita* metre thus affording the earliest example of classical poetry. A full appreciation of this verse is made impossible on account of its fragmentary nature. No. 103 assignable to about the latter half of the first century A.D. is the first inscription of Buddhistic affiliation in Sanskrit. No. 106, a record engraved on a *yūpa* commemorative pillar contains Sanskrit verse set in the simple *anushṭubh* metre giving details of the sacrifices sanctioned by the Vēdas and performed by a king whose name is lost, and who seems to have reigned in the beginning of the second century A.D. Nos. 108 and 109 are in Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit, though they also record sacrificial rites as sanctioned by the Vēdas. Ushavadāta (Ṛishabhadatta), the son-in-law of Kshatrapa Nahapāna made very liberal donations both to the brāhmaṇas and the Buddhists and had them recorded in two inscriptions (Nos. 114 and 117 of A.D. 119 and 117 of A.D. 123). The former is drafted in Sanskrit and Prākṛit while the

latter is in Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit. The distinct preference for Sanskrit seems to have taken on in the north and the west. A record (No. 128) from Mathurā in Uttar Pradesh dated in A.D. 130 in the reign of Huvishka makes a humble beginning long after Śōḍāsa's inscriptions noted above to draft in Sanskrit which, though fragmentary, is by no means corrupt. This is followed chronologically by Sātavāhana records (Nos. 130-2, 134 etc.) which are all set in Prākṛit as they deal with benefactions made to the Buddhist mendicants, though one of the kings is described as *ēkabamhaṇasa* i.e. of the unique Brāhmaṇa (No. 134). This particular inscription (No. 134) in Prākṛit describe in poetic style the qualities and the exploits of the king Gautamīputra Sātakaṛṇi. It displays three characteristics¹: (1) long compounds making the reader breathless, a characteristic which is followed by later day composers with resting pauses in between such passages; (2) alliteration (*anuprāsa*) as in *pavata-patisa*, *divasakara-kara*, *kamala-vimala* etc. used liberally and (3) conventional similies of court poets as in *Himavan-Mēru-Mandara-pavata-sama-sārasa*, *bhujagapati-bhōga-pīnavāṭa-vipula-dīgha-sudara-bhujasa*, *Nala-Nābhāga...sama-tējasa* etc.—The Junāgaḍh Inscription (No. 135) of Rudradāman in flawless Sanskrit prose affording the date year 72 (Śaka) i.e. A.D. 150 contains a brilliant description of the king, his administrators and the restoration of the lake called Sudarśana which had been subjected to the ravages of a big storm. The description is replete with all the characteristics mentioned above in a more embellished manner. The long compounds are self-evident for the reader. Alliteration is met with in the following passages: *Gurubhir-abhyasta-nāmnā Rudradāmnō*; *kāmaṇishayāṇām viśayāṇām*; *nyāyādyāṇām vidyāṇām*; *āryēṇ-āhāryēṇa* etc. A variety of this alliteration displaying a repetition of the consonants and vowels in a skilful manner is met with in the passages *giri-śikhara-taru-taṭ-āṭṭālak-ōpatalpa-dvāra-śaraṇōchhaya-vidhvaṁsinā*; *yathārtha-hast-ōchhaya-ārjīt-ōrjita-dharm-ānuraḡēṇa* etc. The similies, though not many as in No. 134,

¹ See Bühler's *Indian Inscription and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry*, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, 1970 (Reprinted from *The Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. II (1968-69), and Vol. III (1969-70) for a fuller treatment of this and the inscriptions of Rudradāman (No. 135), pp. 63-76 and pages 50-63.

are telling in their effect, e.g. *parvvata-pāda-pratisparddhi*, *maru-dhanva-kalpam* and *parjanyaēna ēkārṇava-bhūtāyam=iva pr̥thivyām kṛitāyām* and also double entendre (*ślēsha*) in *atibhṛīśam durddarśanam*. In describing the high educational attainments of the king, the composer of the inscription (king himself?) states that the king is an adept in the art of composing prose and poetical works with all features, such as clarity, pleasantness, sweetness, charm, beauty, choice of words and embellishments in features which are found to be prescribed for the highest class of poetry. Though the inscription is set in prose the poetical style of the text and the reference to the characteristic features of classical court poetry suggests that the literary standard both in Prākṛit and in Sanskrit has evolved long before the date of this inscription i.e. even before the beginning of the Christian Era and that it took a long time for poetry or literary drafts to be introduced in Epigraphy due to very obvious reasons like the wherewithal, the occasion and lastly the utility. It is no wonder that the spirit behind this development picked up some momentum leading to a few more Sanskrit compositions in the succeeding decades. An inscription (No. 168) from Nāndsā in Rajasthan is a notable instance to the point, in no way less important than the ones discussed above. The long compounds which is self evident, the alliteration in *ṛiddhim=ātmasiddhim*, °*dhārām Vasōrddhārām* etc., and the employment of subtle embellished figures of speech as in *prathama-chandra-darśanam=iva*, *Vasōrddhārām=iva* etc., establish the continuing practice of cultivating the traditions of classical poetry ultimately leading to the full flowering of the same in the following times of the Gupta monarchs. Nos. 199, 202, 205 and 213 are of course examples of this poetry, though much lesser in grandeur.

All the inscriptions included in this volume are engraved in a script the name of which is not mentioned in any inscription but it has been identified with Bammi i.e., Brāhmī mentioned in a Jaina work called *Samavāyāṅgana-Sutta* which cannot be assigned to a date later than the first century B.C. This script was evidently in use even before Aśōka's times. For, Aśōka states in his inscriptions that since he wanted his message on *dharma* to be everlasting (*chira-sthitikā*) he got it recorded (on stone). Indeed one can

see all the records even today and when properly protected they would continue to be available to posterity. He did not make any claim that he had invented the script. It is possible that his predecessors were writing on perishable materials and Aśōka was prompted to record his messages, on stone, an imperishable medium. A chart is appended to the volume so that readers can know about the changes in the script upto 320 A.D.

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LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

<i>No.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Date</i>
1	Gujarrā Minor Edict of Aśōka-I	c. 257-6 B.C.
2	Minor Edict of Aśōka-I	c. 257-6 B.C.
3	Minor Edict of Aśōka-II	c. 257-56 B.C.
4	Stone Slab Edict of Aśōka	c. 257-56 B.C.
5	Rock Edict of Aśōka-I	c. 257-56 B.C.
6	Rock Edict of Aśōka-II	c. 257-56 B.C.
7	Rock Edict of Aśōka-III	c. 257-56 B.C.
8	Rock Edict of Aśōka-IV	c. 257-56 B.C.
9	Rock Edict of Aśōka-V	c. 257-56 B.C.
10	Rock Edict of Aśōka-VI	c. 257-56 B.C.
11	Rock Edict of Aśōka-VII	c. 257-56 B.C.
12	Rock Edict of Aśōka-VIII	c. 257-56 B.C.
13	Rock Edict of Aśōka-IX	c. 257-56 B.C.
14	Rock Edict of Aśōka-X	c. 257-56 B.C.
15	Rock Edict of Aśōka-XII	c. 257-56 B.C.
16	Rock Edict of Aśōka-XIII	c. 257-56 B.C.
17	Rock Edict of Aśōka-XIV	c. 257-56 B.C.
18	Rock Edict from Dhauli	c. 257-56 B.C.
19	Rock Edict from Jaugaḍa	c. 257-56 B.C.
20	Kandahar Edict of Aśōka	c. 257-56 B.C.
21	Laghman Edict of Aśōka-I	c. 256 B.C.
22	Laghman Edict of Aśōka-II	c. 256 B.C.
23	Shar-i-Kuna Edict of Aśōka	c. 256 B.C.
24	Cave Inscription of Aśōka	257 and 250 B.C.
25	Rummindei Pillar Inscription	c. 249 B.C.
26	Nigālī Sāgar Pillar Inscription	c. 249 B.C.
27	Minor Pillar Edict of Aśōka	c. 249 B.C.
28	Pillar Edict of Aśōka-I	c. 243-42 B.C.
29	Pillar Edict of Aśōka-II	c. 243-42 B.C.
30	Pillar Edict of Aśōka-III	c. 243-42 B.C.
31	Pillar Edict of Aśōka-IV	c. 243-42 B.C.
32	Pillar Edict of Aśōka-V	c. 243-42 B.C.
33	Pillar Edict of Aśōka-VI	c. 243-42 B.C.
34	Pillar Edict of Aśōka-VII	c. 243-42 B.C.
35	Pillar Edict of Aśōka's Queen	c. 243-42 B.C.

No.	Title	Date
36	Āṇḍiyā-Kanda Cave Inscription of Abhaya	c. 242 B.C.
37	Cave Inscriptions of Dasaratha	c. 220 B.C.
38	Bhaṭṭiprōlu Casket Inscriptions	3rd century B.C.
39	Māhāsthān Stone Plaque Inscription	3rd century B.C.
40	Piprāhwā Buddhist Vase Inscription	3rd century B.C.
41	Sohgaura Bronze Plaque Inscription	3rd century B.C.
42	Mōrā Brick Inscription	3rd century B.C.
43	Stūpa (I) Inscription from Sāñchi	3rd century B.C.
44	Stūpa (II) Inscription from Sāñchi	3rd century B.C.
45	Sītābengā Cave Inscription	3rd century B.C.
46	Jōgimārā Cave Inscription	3rd century B.C.
47	Shinkot (Bajaur) Casket Inscription of Viyakamitra	c. 115-90 B.C.
48	Garuḍa Pillar Inscription of Heliodora	Regnal year 14 : 113 B.C.
49	Sculpture Inscription from Barhut	2nd century B.C.
50	Shinkōṭ (Bajaur) Casket Inscription of Vijayamitra	Regnal year 5: c. 50 B.C.
51	Pillar Inscription of the time of the Śuṅgas	Later half of the 1st c. B.C.
52	Ghōsūṇḍī Inscription of Sarvatāta	Later half of the 1st c. B.C.
53	Musānagar Brick Inscription of Dēvīmitra	1st century B.C.
54	Inscription on Copper coins of the Mālavas-I	1st century B.C.
✓ 55	Inscriptions on Silver and copper coins of the Yaudhēyas-I	1st century B.C.
56	Inscription on Copper coins of the Arjunāyanas	1st century B.C.
57	Pabhosa Inscriptions of the time of Ūḍāka	End of the 1st century B.C.
✱ 58	Chilas Inscription on Mahēśa	End of the 1st century B.C.
59	Inscription of Dharmaputra	End of the 1st century B.C.
60	Chilas Inscriptions of Maeus-I	End of the 1st century B.C.
61	Chilas Inscriptions of Maeus-II	End of the 1st century B.C.
62	Chilas Inscriptions of Maeus-III	End of the 1st century B.C.
63	Chilas Inscription of Rāhula	End of the 1st century B.C.
64	Nasik Inscription of the time of Kṛishṇa	End of the 1st century B.C.
65	Nānēghāṭ Cave Figure-label Inscriptions	1st century B.C.
66	Nānēghāṭ Inscription of Nāgannikā	End of the 1st century B.C.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Date</i>
67	Hāthīgumphā Cave Inscription of Khāravēla	End of the 1st century B.C.
68	Inscription of Khāravēla's Queen	End of the 1st century B.C.
69	Mañchapuri Cave Inscription of Vakradēva	End of the 1st century B.C.
70	Kōsam Stone Inscription of Gaup̄t̄iputra	End of the 1st century B.C.
71	Inscription of Sūryamitra	End of the 1st century B.C.
72	Coping Stone Inscription of a Pāñchāla king	Year 1/1st century B.C.
73	Inscription of Bhāra Bhagadatta	c. 1 A.D.
74	Ayōdhyā Inscription of Dhanadēva	Beginning of the 1st c. A.D.
✓75	Tablet Inscription of the time Śōḍāsa	Year 72 : A.D. 15
✓76	Mathurā (Mōrā) well Inscription of Śōḍāsa	10-25 A.D.
77	Stone-slab Inscription of Mūlavasu	10-25 A.D.
✓78	Sculpture Inscription of Pākshakā	10-25 A.D.
79	Mathurā Door-jamb Inscription of Vasu	10-25 A.D.
80	Taxila Copper-plate Inscription	(Vikrama) year 78: A.D. 21
81	Bīmarān Vase Inscription	c. 23 A.D.
82	Nāga Temple Inscription from Mathurā	Later half of 1st century A.D.
83	Gold coin of Wima Kadphises-II	A.D. 55-75
84	Hunza Rock Inscription of Kanishka	c. A.D. 78
85	Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription	Azes Year 136 : A.D. 79
86	Pedestal Inscription from Kosam	Śaka 2: A.D. 80
87	Bōdhisatva Image Inscription of Bala	Śaka 3: A.D. 81
88	Pedestal Inscription of Bala	Date lost (Compare No. 87)
89	Nāga Sculpture Inscription	Śaka 8 : A.D. 86
90	Nāga Sculpture Inscription for Navamikā	Śaka 10 : A.D. 88
91	Copper-plate Inscription of Vihārasvāminī	Śaka 11 : A.D. 89
92	Zeda well Inscription of Hipeadhiya	Śaka 11 : A.D. 89
93	Buddha Image Inscription of Saṅghilā	Śaka 14 : A.D. 93
94	Durā Inscription of Vardhantikā	Śaka 16 : 94-95 A.D.
95	Stūpa Inscription of Lala	Śaka 18 : A.D. 96
96	Copper-casket Inscription of Śvaitravarma	Śaka 21 : A.D. 99
97	Guñji Inscription of Praushthadatta and Indradatta	Regnal year 6 : c. 100 A.D.

No.	Title	Date
98	Two cave Inscriptions from Silaharā	c. 100 A.D.
99	Ghōshitārāma Inscription from Kōsam	1st century A.D.
100	Stone Bowl Inscription of Ayala	1st century A.D.
101	Guntupalle Inscription of Siri Sada	1st century A.D.
102	Brick Inscription of Dāmamitra	1st century A.D.
103	Buddhist Inscription from Swat	1st century A.D.
104	Śaivite Temple complex Inscription from Mathurā	1st century A.D.
105	Bōdhisatva Pedestal Inscription	Śaka 23 : A.D. 101
106	Kōsam Yūpa Inscription	(Śaka 23) : c. A.D. 101
107	Inscription on Sacrificial Stone post	Śaka 24 : A.D. 102
108	Pedestal Inscription of Nāgarakshita	Śaka 25 : A.D. 103
109	Memorial Pillar Inscription of Sōmayaśas	10082nd day : A.D. 105
✓ 110	Mathurā Stone Pillar Inscription of Prāchīnikā	Śaka 28 : A.D. 106
111	Pedestal Inscription of Mudhurikā	Śaka 28 : A.D. 107
✓ 112	Bōdhisatva Image Inscription of Dhanavatī	Śaka 33 : A.D. 111
113	Well Inscription from Ārā	Śaka 41 : A.D. 119
114	Cave-Inscription of Ushavadāta-I	[Śaka 41 : A.D. 119]
✓ 115	Bāndhogaṛh Inscription of Phalguna	c. A.D. 120
✓ 116	Jaina Image Inscription from Mathurā	Śaka 44 : A.D. 122
117	Cave Inscription of Ushavadāta-II	Śaka 45 : A.D. 123
118	Nasik Cave Inscription of Dakshamitrā	(Circa 119-24 A.D.)
119	Nasik Inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi	Regnal year 18—c. A.D. 124
120	Junnar Inscription of Aryaman	(Śaka) 46 : A.D. 124
121	Bāndhogaṛh Cave Inscription of Vaiśravaṇa	c. 125 A.D.
122	Inscription on the Pedestal of the Sambhavanātha Image	Śaka 48 : A.D. 126
✓ 123	Mathurā Inscription of Huvishka	Śaka 50 : A.D. 127-28
124	Pedestal Inscription of Buddhavarman	Śaka 51 : A.D. 129
125	Khawat Bronze Vase Inscription	Śaka 51 : A.D. 129
126	Bāndhogaṛh Cave Inscription of Merchants	[Śaka year] 51 : A.D. 129
127	Memorial Stone Inscriptions from Andhau	Śaka 52 : A.D. 130
✓ 128	Pedestal Inscription from Māt	c. A.D. 130

<i>No.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Date</i>
129	Memorial Stone Inscription of Dhanadēva	Śaka 53 : A.D. 130
130	Nasik Inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi	Regnal year 24 : c. A.D. 130
131	Dharmachakra Shaft Inscription	Regnal year 5 : c. A.D. 135
132	Karle Inscription of Mahārathi Sōmadēva	Regnal year 7 : c. A.D. 137
133	Buddha Image Inscription of Guhasena	Śaka 64 (or 67) : A.D. 142 or 145
134	Nasik Inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi	Regnal year 19 : c. A.D. 149
135	Rock Inscription of Rudradāman	Śaka year 72 : A.D. 150
✓136	Mathura Stone Inscription of General Valāna	Śaka 74 : A.D. 152
137	Nasik Inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi	Regnal year 22 : c. A.D. 152
138	Pillar Inscription of Dēvila	Śaka 77 : A.D. 154
✓139	Jaina Image Inscription from Mathura	Śaka 80 : A.D. 158
140	Bāndhōgarh Cave Inscription of Bhōja and Bhōjapīli	Śaka 80 : A.D. 158
141	Inscription of the Stone-masons' guild	Year 81 : A.D. 159
142	Dharmachakra Inscription from Amarāvati	c. 160 A.D.
143	Sātavāhana Bilingual Silver coin	c. 160 A.D.
144	Inscription referring to Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi's Queen	[c. A.D. 160]
145	Lintel Inscription from Kōsam	Śaka 86 : A.D. 164
146	Kōsam Inscription of the time of Śivamagha	c. A.D. 164
147	Bāndhōgarh Inscription of Minister Bhabāṭha	Śaka 86 : A.D. 164
148	Bāndhōgarh Inscription of Minister Magha	Śaka 86 : A.D. 164
149	Bāndhōgarh Cave Inscription of Two Merchants	Śaka 86 : A.D. 164
150	Bāndhōgarh Cave Inscription of Pushya	Śaks 87 : A.D. 165
151	Bāndhōgarh Cave Inscription of Gahavudhi	Śaka 88 : A.D. 166
152	Bāndhōgarh Inscription of Dhanamitra	Śaka 90 : A.D. 168
153	Buddha Image Inscription of Śramaṇa	Śaka 93 : A.D. 171-72

No.	Title	Date
154	Gundā Inscription of Ābhīra Rudrabhūti	Śaka 103 : A.D. 181
155	Junāgaḍh Inscription of the grandson of Jayadāman	c. A.D. 180-81
156	Junāgaḍh Inscription of Jivadāman I	c. A.D. 180-81
157	Nasik Cave Inscription of Vāsu	Regnal year 7 : c. A.D. 181
158	Lead Coin of Yajña Sātakārṇi	c. A.D. 181
159	Memorial Stone Inscription of Ajamitra	Śaka 105 : A.D. 183
160	Badarikārāma Inscription from Kōsam	[Śaka 107] : A.D. 185
161	Stone Vessel Inscription from Kailvan	Śaka 108 : A.D. 186
✓ 162	Copper Coins of the Yaudhēyas-II	2nd century A.D.
163	Wooden Pillar Inscription from Kirāri	2nd century A.D.
164	Gaḍhā Memorial Stone Inscription	Śaka 127 : A.D. 205
165	Myākadōni Tank Inscription of Sāmba	Regnal year 6 : A.D. 207
166	Nasik Inscription of Vishṇudatta	Regnal year 9 : c. A.D. 212
167	Karle Inscription of Harapharaṇa	Regnal year 24 : A.D. 225
168	Nāndsā Yūpa Inscription	Kṛita 282 : A.D. 226
169	Stone Yūpa Inscription from Barnāla	Kṛita 284 : A.D. 228
170	Inscription of Vijaya-Sātakārṇi	Regnal year 6: c. A.D. 230-31
171	Coping Stone Inscription of Siddhi	c. A.D. 232
172	Inscription of Vishṇukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda-Sātakārṇi	Regnal year 1 : c. A.D. 235
173	Baḍvā Pillar Inscription	Kṛita 295 : A.D. 238
174	Koḍavali Rock Inscription of Chaṇḍasāti	Regnal year 11 : c. A.D. 240
175	Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Inscription of Ābhīra Vasushēṇa	Year 30 : c. A.D. 242
176	Conch-shell Inscription of Aṣṭabhujasvāmin	c. A.D. 242
177	Vāsanā Inscription of Chaṇḍasīva temple	c. A.D. 245
178	Banāvasi Tablet Inscription of Sivasiri Puḷumāvi	c. A.D. 245
179	Reṇṭāla Inscription of Chantamūla	Regnal year 5 : c. A.D. 248
180	Memorial Inscription for Chantamūla	Regnal year 1 : c. A.D. 257
181	Mahāchaitya Inscription of Chāntīśrī and Ānanda	Regnal year 6 : c. A.D. 262
182	Pillar Inscription of Rudradhara-Bhaṭṭārikā	Regnal year 6 : A.D. 262
183	Pillar Inscription of Queen Bappīśrī	Regnal year 6 : A.D. 262

<i>No.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Date</i>
184	Nāga Stone Inscription of Vishṇukaṇḍa Sātakarṇi	Year 12 : A.D. 262
185	Chaitya Inscription of Bōdhiśrī	Regnal year 15 : A.D. 270
186	Stone Hall Inscription of Chāntiśrī	Regnal year 18 : A.D. 274
187	Wooden Tablet Inscription of Vijitasimha	Regnal year 10 : A.D. 274
188	Wooden Wedge Tablet Inscription from Niya	c. A.D. 274
189	Inscription of Saṅghila of Dhānyakaṇḍa	Regnal year 19 : A.D. 275
190	Pillar Inscription of Siddhārtha	Regnal year 20 : A.D. 276
191	Another Yūpa Inscription from Barnāla	Kṛita 335 : A.D. 279
192	Kānākhēra Inscription of Śrīdharavarman	Regnal year 13, Śaka 201 : A.D. 278-79
193	Inscription mentioning Achanta- rājachārya	c. A.D. 280
194	Foot-print Slab Inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa	c. A.D. 280
195	Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Inscription of Noḍagīśvarasvāmin	Regnal year 1 : A.D. 281
196	Inscription of Bhartrīdēvā from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa	Regnal year 2 : A.D. 282
197	Image Inscription of Khaṇḍuvulā	c. A.D. 282
198	Stone Inscription of Vasudēva	[Śaka] 205 : A.D. 283
199	Store-room Inscription of Chandraśrī	Regnal year 8 : A.D. 288
200	Śiva Temple Inscription of Ēliśrī	Regnal year 11 : A.D. 291
201	Pillar Inscription of Kodabaliśrī	Regnal year 11 : A.D. 291
202	Memorial Inscription for Ehavuladāsaṃṇaka	Regnal year 13 : A.D. 293
203	Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Inscription of Pushpabhadrasvāmin	Regnal year 16 : A.D. 296
204	Koṇḍamuḍi Plates of Jayavarman	Regnal year 10 : A.D. 300
205	Maukhari Yūpa Inscription	3rd century A.D.
206	Bijayagaṇh Inscription of the Yaudhēyas	3rd c. A.D.
207	Buddhist Inscription from Ghaṇṭasāla	3rd c. A.D.
208	Āyaka Inscription from Ghaṇṭasāla	3rd c. A.D.
209	British Museum Crystal Intaglio of Avarighsa	3rd c. A.D.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Date</i>
210	Abottabad Inscription of Shāphara	3rd c. A.D.
211	Clay Seal of the Yaudhēyas-I	Beginning of the 4th c. A.D.
212	Clay Seal of the Yaudhēyas-II	Beginning of the 4th c. A.D.
213	Buddha Relief Inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa	Regnal year 24 : A.D. 304
214	Sanskrit Buddhist Inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa	c. 305 A.D.
215	Memorial Inscription for Varmabhaṭṭa	Regnal year 11 : c. 316 A.D.
216	Memorial Inscription for Chantapula	c. 317 A.D.
217	Memorial Inscription for a soldier	c. 317 A.D.
218	Memorial Pillar Inscription for Sudarśa-Gona	c. 320 A.D.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABORI :</i>	<i>The Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.</i>
<i>A.S.I.A.R. } A.R.A.S.I. }</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.</i>
<i>ASSI :</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey of Southern India (Series)</i>
<i>ASWI } Arch. Surv. W. Ind. }</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey of Western India (Series)</i>
<i>BEFEO :</i>	<i>Bulletin de L'Ecoles de France et Extreme Orient</i>
<i>c.</i>	<i>Circa i.e., about</i>
<i>Corp. Ins. Ind. } C.I.I. }</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i>
<i>Ep. Carn. :</i>	<i>Epigraphia Carnatica</i>
<i>Ep. Ind. :</i>	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
<i>Ep. Zeyl. :</i>	<i>Epigraphia Zeylanika</i>
<i>HISWK :</i>	<i>The History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas, and The Western Kshatrapas, Bombay</i>
<i>ibid :</i>	<i>in the same book, chapter or passage</i>
<i>Ind. Ant. :</i>	<i>Indian Antiquary</i>
<i>I. H. Q.</i>	<i>The Indian Historical Quarterly</i>
<i>JAIH :</i>	<i>The Journal of Ancient Indian History</i>
<i>J. As.</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JASB (N.S.)</i>	<i>The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series)</i>
<i>JBBRAS :</i>	<i>The Journal of the Bengal and Bihar branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>JBORS. :</i>	<i>Journal of The Bihar (and Orissa) Research Society</i>
<i>JESI :</i>	<i>The Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India.</i>

<i>JNSI :</i>	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</i>
<i>JRAS:</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London</i>
<i>List (Lüders) :</i>	<i>A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest times to about A.D. 400 with the exception of those of Aśōka (Appendix to Epigraphia Indica Vol. X).</i>
<i>loc. cit :</i>	in the passage already quoted.
<i>Mem. A.S.I. :</i>	<i>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India</i>
<i>Mod. Rev.</i>	<i>Modern Review</i>
<i>op. cit. :</i>	in the work already quoted
<i>Sel. Ins. I :</i>	<i>Select Inscriptions, 1st Edition (Revised), 1965, Calcutta</i>
<i>S. I. }</i>	
<i>T. A. S. :</i>	
	<i>Travancore Archaeological Series.</i>

THE UTTANKITA VIDYA ARANYA TRUST SERIES

VOLUME II

PRĀKRIT AND SANSKRIT EPIGRAPHS (257 B.C.—320 A.D.)

1. GUJARRĀ MINOR EDICT OF AŚŌKA¹—I

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 257-56 B.C. ²
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya ³
<i>Location</i>	.. Boulder at the foot of the hill, Gujarrā near Parāśarī, Datia District, Madhya Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> (Revised), Supple- ment Bk. 1, No. 23A, p. 515 ff.

TEXT

देवानांपियस⁴ पियदसिनो असोकराजस ।

अढतियानि संवछरानि उपासके स्मि । साधिके संवछरे य च मे
संघे याते ती अहं बाढं च परकंते ती आहा । एतेना अंतरेणा जंबुदीपसि
देवानंपीयस अमिसंदेवा संतो मुनिस मिसंदेवा कटा । परकमस इयं
फले । नो च इयं महतेना ति व चकिये पापोतवे । खुदाकेण पी
परकममीनेना धमं चरमीनेना पानेसू संयतेना विपुले पी स्वगे चकिये
आराधयितवे । से एताये अठाये इयं सावणे । खुदाके चा उडारे चा
धमं चरंतू योगं युंजंतू ।

अन्ता पि चा जानंतू किंति च चिलथितिके धमंचरणे सिया ।
[इयं अठे^७] वढिसिति च एनं वा धमं चरं अतियो ।

इयं च सावन विवुथेन २०० ५० ६^७ ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः अशोकराजस्य । अर्द्धतृतीयान् संवत्सरान्
[व्याप्याहं] उपासकः अस्मि । साधिकं संवत्सरं [व्याप्य] यत् च मया
संवः यातः इति अहं बाढं पराक्रान्तः इति आह । एतेन अन्तरेण
जम्बूद्वीपे देवानांप्रियस्य अमिश्रदेवाः सन्तः मनुष्याः मिश्रदेवाः कृताः ।
पराक्रमस्य इदं फलम् । नो च इदं महता इति एव शक्यं प्राप्तुम् ।
क्षुद्रकेण अपि पराक्रममाणेन धर्मं चरता प्राणेषु संयतेन विपुलः अपि स्वर्गः
शक्यः आराधयितुम् । तत् एतस्मै अर्थाय इदं श्रावणम् । क्षुद्रकः च
उदारः च धर्मं चरतां, योगं युञ्जताम् ।

अन्ताः अपि च जानन्तु । किमिति च । चिरस्थितिकं च धर्माचरणं
स्यात् । इमं अर्थं वद्विष्यते च एनम् एव धर्मं चरन् अतीव ।

इदं च श्रावणं व्युषितेन २५६ [मया उद्धोषितम्]

SUMMARY

This⁷ is the proclamation of Priyadarśi Aśōka-rāja⁸, the Beloved of the Gods.

I have been exerting (in the cause of *dharma*) for two and a half years as a result of my association with the Saṅgha for more than an year. The people in Jambūdvīpa⁹ who were atheists have turned their minds to *dēvas*¹⁰ as a result of my exertion. Not that the rich alone are capable of this. Even the poor man, if he exerts himself in the cause of *dharma*¹¹ and observes restraint in respect of the senses can attain the great heaven. This proclamation is being made for this purpose. Let all people, rich and poor practise *dharma* and mingle with the *dēvas*.

Let the people¹² living beyond the borders of the empire also know that the practice of *dharma* should increase and be everlasting.

This proclamation is issued by me when I had spent 256 nights on tour.¹³

NOTES

1. Other versions of the core of this text are found (from north to south) at Delhi, Ahraura (Mirzapur District, Uttar Pradesh), Sahasrām (Shahabad District, Bihar), Rūpnāth (Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh), Pāṅgurāria (See No. 2) (Sehore District, Madhya Pradesh), Bairāt (Jaipur District, Rajasthan), Maski, Gavimāth and Pālkīguṇḍu (Raichur District, Karnataka), Niṭṭūr and Uḍegōlam (Bellary District, Karnataka), Erraguḍi and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri (Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh) and Siddāpura, Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara and Brahmagiri (Chitradurga District, Karnataka). See notes 4 and 5 for additional passages in the versions.

2. Sircar holds, on the basis of the references to Aśōka's regnal years in some of his records that he became a Buddhist in the second half of his tenth regnal year (260-59 B.C.), that he visited Sambōdhi (Bōdhgaya) in the next year (259-58 B.C.), and that he set out on tour in his 12th regnal year (258-57 B.C.) All the edicts began to be issued in his thirteenth regnal year (257-56 B.C.). See Sircar, *Aśōkan Studies*, pp. 116-17.

3. The Mauryas, known in earlier times as Mōriyas ruling from Pippalivana, began their rule under Chandragupta (324-300 B.C.) from Rajgir (Bihar). His successors were his son Bindusāra (300-272 B.C.); his son Aśōka (272-232 B.C.); his grandson Daśaratha, Samprati and lastly Bṛihadhratha (187 B.C.). The empire extended from Afghanistan to Bengal and from the Himalayas to the south as far upto the southern limits of Chitradurga District in Karnataka (about 14° of latitude).

4. Brahmagiri, Siddāpur and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara versions have at the beginning of the record, the passage:

सुवर्णगिरीते अयपुतस महामातानं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता आरोगिय वतविया (सुवर्णगिरितः आर्यपुत्रस्य महामात्राणां च वचनेन इसिलायां महामात्रः आरोग्यं वक्तव्यः)

which means, 'the viceroy (prince) and the *mahāmātras* at Suvarṇagiri solicits the well-being of the *mahāmātra* at Isila'. Sircar suggests that Suvarṇagiri may be Jonnagiri near Erraguḍi (Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh) and Isila may be located near Siddāpura (*Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 47, note 4).

5. Resorted from other versions.

6. The version at Ahraura contains an additional clause at the end

“दुवे सपंनालातिसति अं मंचे बुधस सलीले आलोढे ति (द्वे षट्पञ्चाशद्रात्रिशते
—i.e., षट्पञ्चाशदधिकद्विशतरात्रीः—यत् मञ्चं बुद्धस्य शरीरं आरूढम् इति)
meaning “for 256 nights, since the relics of Buddha were raised (for preservation)
on the platform.”

7. See note 4.

8. This is one of the few inscriptions where his personal name Aśōka is mentioned. The other inscriptions are from Maski, Gujarrā, Niṭṭūr and Uḍegōlam.

9. This is generally applied to the whole of the southern part of the earth though the obvious reference here is to Aśōka's own empire in India included in that part.

10. The word *dēvas* could better be rendered in English as ‘men who possess great character and merit’ as the word *god* may not be appropriate in the context of Buddhist philosophy.

11. See Nos. 29 and 34 for Aśōka's definition of *dharma*. This word cannot be rendered in one word in English. It consists of least sinfulness, (works of) welfare for many people, compassion, charity, truthfulness, purity, liberality, gentleness and goodness.

12. Detailed reference to these is given in Nos. 6 and 16 below.

13. See note 6.

2. MINOR EDICT OF AŚŌKA—I

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-6 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Mauryan
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock, Pāṅgurāriā, Budhni Tahsil, Sehore District, Madhya Pradesh.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Aśōkan Studies</i> , pp. 94 ff and plate.

TEXT

पियदसिनाम राजा कुमारस संवस माणेमदेसे उ(ओ ?)पुनिथ-
विहार-यताये ।

सावनं वियुथेन २०० ५० ६ । देवाणंपिये आणपयति । अढितियानि
वसानि यते सुमि उपासके । नो चु बा[ढं*] पकाते हुसं ति व । संवछरं
साधिकं मे सघ य यते बाढ चु सुमि पकंत ।

इमं च कालं जंबु[दिप*]सि देवा न मनुसेहि मिसिभूता हुसु । ते
दानि मिसिभूता । [पकमस यि एस फ*] ल । नो च एस महापकारणेणो
(न) व । खुदके पि पकम[माने सकिये विपुलं स्वगं आराधयितुं । एताय*]
अठाय एस सावने किता (ति) खुदका च उडारका च पक मं तुं ।

अंता पि च जानं[तु*] किति एते पि पकमेयु ति । अयं हि अठे
वढिसिति विपुल पि च [वढिसिति दियढमेव*] वढिसिति चिरठितिके
च होसिति ।

यथ च पवत यथ च सिलाथभा [सवत लेखापे*]तवा(वि)य
ति ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

प्रियदर्शिनामा राजा कुमाराय शंवाय माणेमदेशे उपुनिथविहार-
यात्रायाः ।

श्रावणं व्युषितेन २५६ । देवानांप्रियः आज्ञापयति । अर्धतृतीयानि
वर्षाणि यतः अस्मि उपासकः । नो च तु [अहं] बाढं प्रक्रान्तः अभूवम्
इति एव । संवत्सरं साधिकं मया संघः यत् यातः बाढं च तु अस्मि
प्रक्रान्तः । इमं च कालं जम्बूद्वीपे देवाः न मनुष्यैः मिश्रीभूताः अभूवन् ।
ते इदानीं [मनुष्यैः] मिश्रीभूताः । प्रक्रमस्य हि एतत् फलम् । नो च
एतत् [मम] महात्मकारणेन एव (आराद्धम्) । क्षुद्रकः अपि प्रक्रम-
माणः शक्यः विपुलं स्वर्गम् आराधयितुम् । एतस्मै अर्थाय एतत्
श्रावणम् । किमिति । क्षुद्रकाः च उदारकाः च प्रक्रमन्तु ।

अन्ताः अपि च जानन्तु । किमिति । एते अपि प्रक्रमेयुः इति ।
अयं हि अर्थः वर्धिष्यते विपुलं अपि च वर्धिष्यते द्वचर्द्ध एव वर्धिष्यते
चिरस्थितिकः च भविष्यति ।

यत्र च पर्वताः [सन्ति*] यत्र च शिलास्तम्भाः [सन्ति*] सर्वत्र
तेषु तेषु अयम् अर्थः लेखितव्यः इति ॥

SUMMARY

The king named **Priyadarśin** (speaks) to prince (*Kumāra*) **Śaṁva**¹ in the course of his journey to the Upuṇitha (or Opuṇitha) monastery in Māṇēma country.

This declaration (was made) in the course of my tour after 256 days.

The Beloved of the Gods orders (thus):

It is two and a half years since I have been a lay worshipper (of the Buddha). However I was not zealously active at the beginning. For the past one year the (Buddhist) council (Saṅgha) was associated with me and I am more active.

Upto this time, the *dēvas* were not mingled with men in Jambūdvīpa.¹ Now they have mingled with men. This is the result of my exertion—not due to one being big (i.e. rich). The small (i.e. poor) man may also attain heaven, if he exerts himself in the cause of *dharma*. This declaration is made for this purpose so that the rich and the poor may exert in the cause of *dharma*.

The people living on the borders of my dominions should know—what? that they should also exert. This exertion will indeed increase by one and a half times and will be everlasting.

Wherever there are rocks and stone-pillars there (this order) should be written.

1. See No. 3, note 3 and 7, No. 1, note 3.

3. MINOR EDICT OF AŚŌKA—II¹

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-56 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Boulder in the hills, Erraguḍi, Kunool District, Andhra Pradesh.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Aśōkan Studies</i> , pp. 9-12 and plate II.

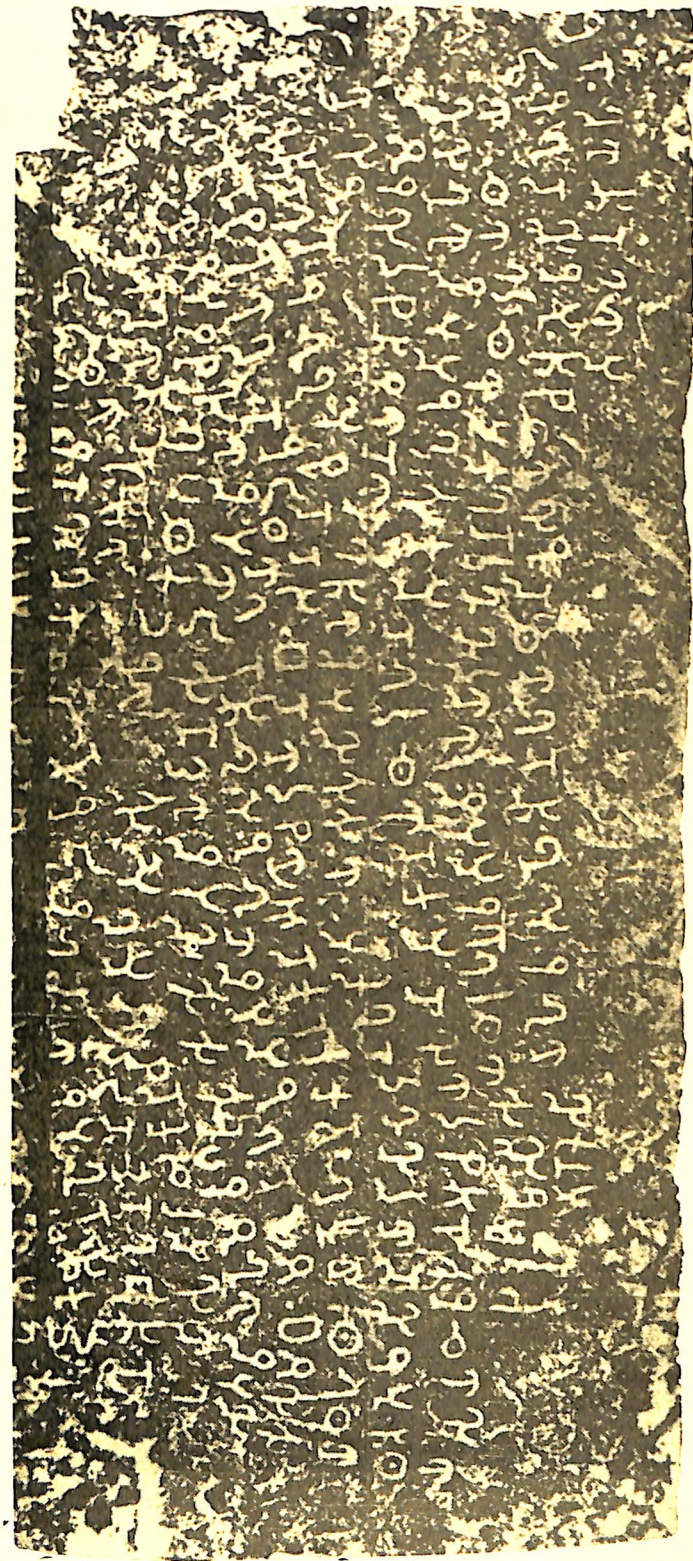
TEXT

हेवं देवानं देवानंपिये आह । यथा देवानंपिये आहा तथा कटविये ।
रजूके आनपेतविये । से दानि जानपदं आनपयिसति रठिकानि चा ।

मातापितूसु सुसुसितविये । हेमेव गुरुसु सुसुसितविये । पर्षा (प्रा)-
नेसु दयितविये । सचे वतविये । इम धंमगुना पवतितविया । हेवं तुंफे
आनपयाथ देवानंपिय-वचनेन ।

हेवं आनपयाथ हथियारोहानि कारनकानि युग्याचरियानि बंभनानि
च तुंफे । हेवं निवेसयाथ अंतेवासिनि यारिसा पोरानाप किति । इयं सुसु-
सितविये । अपचायना य वा आचरियस स हेमेव । यथा वा पुन आचरियस
नातिकानि यथारहं नातिकासु पर्ष (प्र)वतितविये । हेसा पि अंतेवासीसु
नातिकानि यथारहं नातिकासु पर्ष (प्र)वतितविये । हेसा पि अंतेवासीसु
यथारहं पवतितविये यारिसा पोराना पकिति । यथारहं यथा इयं सतिरो-
(रे)के सिया हेवं तुंफे आनपयाथ निवेसयाथ च अंतेवासीनि ।

हेवं देवानंपिये आनपयति ॥



No. 3



TEXT SANSKRITISED

एवं देवानांप्रियः आह । यथा देवानांप्रियः आह तथा कर्तव्यम् ।
रज्जुकः आज्ञापयितव्यः । सः इदानीं जानपदान् आज्ञापयिष्यति राष्ट्रिकान्
च ।

“ माता-पितृषु शुश्रूषितव्यम्, एवम् एव गुरुषु शुश्रूषितव्यम्, प्राणेषु
दयितव्यम्, सत्यं वक्तव्यम् इमे धर्मगुणाः प्रवर्तितव्याः ॥ ”
एवं यूयं आज्ञापयत देवानांप्रियवचनेन ।

एवम् आज्ञापयत हस्त्यारोहान् कारणकान्, योग्याचार्यान् ब्राह्मणान्
च यूयम् । एवं निवेशयत अन्तेवासिनः यादृशी पौराणी प्रकृतिः । इदं
शुश्रूषितव्यम् । अपचायना या एव आचार्यस्य, सा एवम् एव । यथा वा
पुनः आचार्यस्य ज्ञातिकाः सन्ति यथार्हं ज्ञातिकासु प्रवर्तितव्यम् । तैः ज्ञातिकैः
एवम् अपि अन्तेवासिषु यथार्हं प्रवर्तितव्यम्, यादृशी पौराणी प्रकृतिः ।
यथार्हं यथा इदं सातिरेकं स्यात्, एवं यूयं आज्ञापयत निवेशयत च
अन्तेवासिनः ।

एवं देवानांप्रियः आज्ञापयति ॥

SUMMARY

The Beloved of the Gods ordained that² the Rajjukas³ should be ordered to command the Rāshṭrikas³ in turn, to instruct the people of the countryside as follows:

Mother, father and elders should be attended to and obeyed. All living beings should be treated with kindness. Truth must be spoken. These traits of *dharma* should be propounded.

Those supervisors who ride elephants as also Brāhmaṇas (teachers) of the proper conduct should be ordered to instruct their pupils (as below), according to ancient usage:

Instruct the pupils [in accordance with the ancient customs]. The teacher's honour depends on this. This principle should be

established by the male relatives in the proper manner also among the female relatives. This instruction should be given to their own students, in turn, according to ancient customs, in the proper way so that the traits of *dharma* grow among them abundantly.

Thus orders the Beloved of the Gods.

NOTES

1. This is engraved in continuation of the version of the Minor Rock Edict (I) (No. 1 above) engraved on the same boulder. The order appears to have been addressed to the Mahāmātras stationed probably at Suvarṇagiri near Erraguḍi.

This record is engraved in an indiscriminate manner. One-half of some of the lines are written from right to left. Some words are engraved above the line or at the beginning of some other lines. The versions at Brahmagiri, Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara and Siddāpura are engraved in this fashion by Chapāḍa whose name is mentioned at the end of the text and whose designation लिपिकार (writer and engraver) is written in Kharōshthī. The inscriptions of North Western India are written in this script from right to left. It is possible that this record also was engraved by a person who hailed from North Western India and used to write in Kharōshthī (see Sircar, *Aśōkan Studies*, p. 4).

The text of this edict is found only at Brahmagiri, Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara, Niṭṭūr, Rājula-Manḍagiri, Siddāpura and Uḍegōlam.

2. The Brahmagiri version does not contain the latter part of this passage.

3. It is apparent that the Rajjukas and the Rāshṭrikas represented the higher and the lower levels of administration in the hierarchy at the regional centres. Rajjuka means probably, as Sircar suggests, the officer concerned with the assessment of tax etc., on lands to be measured by tape (*rajju*). Rāshṭrika stands for the officer in charge of a well-marked area.

4. STONE SLAB EDICT OF AŚŌKA

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-256 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Bairāt, near Bhābrū, Jaipur Dist., .. Rajasthan. Now in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta,
<i>Reference</i>	.. Senart, <i>Ind. Ant.</i> , XX, pp. 165 ff.

TEXT

पि(प्रि)यदसि लाजा मागधे संघं अभिवादे(तू)नं आहा अपा-
बाधतं च फासु-विहालतं चा

विदिते वे भंते आवतके हमा बुधसि धंमसि संघसी ति गालवे चं (च)
प(प्र)सादे च [।*] ए केचि भंते भगवता बुधे[न] भासिते सवे से
सुभासिते वा [।*] ए चु खो भंते हमियाये दिसेया हेवं सधंमे चिल-
(ठि)तीके होसती ति अलहामि हकं तं वातवे

इमानि भंते (धं)मपलियायानि विनयसमुक्से अलियवसाणि
अनागतभयानि मुनिगाथा मोनेयसूते उपतिसर्प(प्र)सिने ए चा लाघुलोवादे
मुसावादं अधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भंते धंमपलियायानि
इछामि किति बहुके भिखुपाये चा भिखुनिये चा अभिखिनं सुनेयु चा उप-
धालयेयू चा ।

हेवंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा ।

एतेनि भंते इमं लिखापयामि । अभिपेतं मे जानंतू ति [।।*]

TEXT SANSKRITISED

प्रियदर्शी राजा मागधः सङ्घं अभिवाद्य आह । अपावाधतां च सुख-
विहारतां च ।

विदितां एव [हे] भवन्तः यावत् अस्माकं बुद्धे धर्मे सङ्घे इति गौरवं
च प्रसादः च । यत् किञ्चित् [हे] भवन्तः भगवता बुद्धेन भाषितं सर्वं
तत् सुभाषितम् एव । यत् च तु खलु [हे] भवन्तः अस्माभिः दृश्यते एवं
सद्धर्मः चिरस्थितिकः भविष्यति इति, अहमि अहं तत् वक्तुम् ।

इमे [हे] भवन्तः धर्मपर्यायाः विनयसमुत्कर्षः आर्यवंशाः (OR वासाः)
अनागतभयानि, मुनिगाथा, मौनेयसूत्रम्, उपतिष्यप्रश्नः, यः च राहुलवादः
मृषावादम् अधिकृत्य भगवता बुद्धेन भाषितः एतान् [हे] भवन्तः धर्म-
पर्यायान् इच्छामि—किमिति बहुकः भिक्षुपादः च भिक्षुण्यः च अभीक्ष्णं
शृणुयुः च उपधारयेयुः च ।

एवम् एव उपासकाः च उपासिकाः च ।

एतेन [हे] भवन्तः इमां लेख्यामि, अभिप्रेतं मे जानन्तु इति ॥

SUMMARY

King Priyadarśi of Magadha salutes, enquires and addresses the member of the Saṅgha after customary offerings of respect, as below:¹

You know of my reverence for and my faith in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha. All that has been said by the Supreme Buddha is well-said. I want to tell you how this Dharma can be made everlasting.

I want that all the monks and nuns should often listen to and reflect on, the texts of Dharma such as: *Vinaya-samutkarshaḥ*² (The Exaltation of Discipline)³, *Ārya-vāsāḥ* (the Noble States of living), *Anāgata-bhayāni* (Remedy for Fears to come), *Muni-gāthā* (the Song of the Sage), *Maunēya-sūtram* (Aphorisms on the state of

a Sage), *Upatishya-praśnaḥ* (the Queries of Upatishya)³ and *Rāhula-vādaḥ* (the Exhortation to *Rāhula*)⁴ on the subject of falsehood.

So also, the lay followers, both male and female, should listen to, and reflect on, these texts.

I have proclaimed this in writing so that people may know of my intention.

NOTES

1. Three other records addressed to the Buddhist clergy regarding their conduct are known. See No. 27 where one of those three from Sārnāth is given. See No. 27, note 3.

2. The translation of the names of these texts is based on Sircar's *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Publications Division, Govt. of India, 1957, pp. 38-39.

3. Upatishya known also as Sāriputra was one of the two chief disciples of Gautama Buddha. The other was Mogallāna.

4. Rāhula was the son of Siddhārtha (Gautama Buddha).

5. ROCK EDICT OF AŚŌKA—I

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-256 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock at Gīrnār, Junagadh District, Gujarat.
<i>Reference</i>	... Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, pp. 1 f. and plate.

TEXT

इयं धंमलिपी देवानंपि(प्रि)येन पि(प्रि)यदसिनां राज्ञा लेखापिता ।
 इध न किंचि जीवं आरभिप्ता(त्पा) पं(प्र)जूहितव्यं (व्यं) ।
 न च समाजो कतव्यो(व्यो) । बहुकं हि दोसं समाजमिह पसति देवानंपि-
 (प्रि)यो पि(प्रि)यदसि राजा ।

अस्ति पि तु एकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं पि(प्रि)यस पि(प्रि)-
 यदसिनो राज्ञो ।

पुरा महानसमिह देवानंपि(प्रि)यस पि(प्रि)यदसिनो राज्ञो
 अनुदिवसं बहूनि पं(प्रा)णसतसहस्रा(स्त्रा)नि आरभिसु सुपाथाय ।
 से अज यदा अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता ती एव पं(प्रा)णा आरभरे सुपाथाय
 द्वो मोरा एको मगो । सो पि मगो न ध्रुवो । एते पि तीं(त्री) पं(प्रा)-
 णा पछा न आरभिसरे ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

इयं धर्मलिपिः देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा लेखिता ।

इह न कश्चित् जीवः आलभ्य प्रहोतव्यः, न च समाजः कर्तव्यः ।
 बहुकं हि दोषं समाजे पश्यति देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा ।

सन्ति अपि एकत्याः समाजाः साधुमताः देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः
राज्ञः ।

पुरा महानसे देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः अनुदिवसं बहूनि
प्राणिशतसहस्राणि आलभ्यन्त सूपार्थाय । तत् अद्य यदा इयं धर्मलिपिः
लिखिता त्रयः एव प्राणिनः आलभ्यन्ते सूपार्थाय—द्वौ मयूरौ एकः मृगः ।
सः अपि मृगः न ध्रुवः । एते अपि त्रयः प्राणाः पश्चात् न आलप्स्यन्ते ॥

SUMMARY

This Edict on piety (*dharma*) is caused to be written by King **Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the gods.**

No living being should be slaughtered for sacrifice. No festive gathering should be held, as it is perceived (by him) as generating evil. Yet he considers one kind of gathering good.²

Many hundreds of thousands of living beings were formerly killed every day in his kitchen. But now only three living creatures i.e., two peacocks and one animal are killed for the sake of curry. Even this animal is not regularly killed. These three living beings shall not be slaughtered in the future.³

NOTES

1. This is the first of a set of fourteen Rock Edicts. The entire set is found engraved at Mānsehrā (Hazāra District, Pakistan), Shābāzgarhī (Peshawar District, Pakistan), Kālsī (Dehra Dun District, Uttar Pradesh), Dhauli (Puri District, Orissa), Jaugaḍa (Ganjam District, Orissa) and Erragudi (Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh), besides this one at Gīrnār. Fragments of Rock Edicts VIII and IX have been found at Sōpāra (ancient Sūrpāraka), (Thana District, Maharashtra). Dhauli and Jaugaḍa have a set of two different inscriptions in the place of Rock Edicts XI-XIII of the series. Particular versions of these Edicts are chosen to be presented here on account of their closeness to Sanskrit forms and on account of their standard form.

2. It is possible that this refers to the meeting of the Buddhist Saṅgha which might have provided occasion for rejoicings also.

3. See No. 32 below for more elaborate orders in respect of this killing of birds and animals, enforced in his twenty-seventh regnal year.

6. ROCK EDICT OF AŚŌKA—II

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-6 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Below Rock Edict I, Girnar, Junagadh District, Gujarat.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, pp. 2ff. and plate.

TEXT

सर्वत विजितम्हि देवानांपि (प्रि) यस पियदसिनो राजो एवमपि
प (प्र) चंतेसु यथा चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो¹ आ तंवपंणी अंतियोको
योनराजा ये वा पि तस अंतियोकस समीपा राजानो सर्वत (त्र) देवानांपि-
(प्रि) यस पि (प्रि) यदसिनो राजो द्वे चिकीछा कता मनुसचिकीछा च
पसुचिकीछा च । ओसुढानि च यानि मनुसोपगानि च पसोपगानि च यत
यत नास्ति सर्वत (त्र) हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च । मूलानि च
फलानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वत हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च । पंथेसू
कूपा च खानापिता व (त्र) छा च रोपापिता परिभोगाय पसुमनुसानं ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सर्वत्र विजिते देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः एवम् अपि प्रत्यन्तेषु
यथा चोलः पाण्ड्यः सतियपुत्रः केरलपुत्रः आताम्रार्पणितथा] अन्तियोकः
यवनराजः ये वा अपि तस्य अन्तियोकस्य समीपाः राजानः सर्वत्र देवानां-

प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः द्वे चिकित्से कृते—मनुष्यचिकित्सा च पशुचिकित्सा च । औषधानि च यानि मनुष्योपगानि च पशूपगानि च यत्र यत्र न सन्ति, सर्वत्र हारितानि च रोपितानि च । मूलानि च फलानि च यत्र यत्र न सन्ति, सर्वत्र हारितानि च रोपितानि च । पथिषु कूपाः च खानिताः वृक्षाः च रोपिताः परिभोगाय पशुमनुष्याणाम् ॥

SUMMARY

King Priyadarśi, the Beloved of Gods, has arranged for medical treatment of both men and animals all over his empire and in the territories beyond the borders as those of the Chōḍa, the Pāṇḍya, the Satiyaputra and the Kēralaputra upto Tāmraparṇi and those of the Greek king Antiyōka and also his neighbours.² He has arranged also for planting medicinal herbs, roots and fruit-yielding trees. Wells have also been dug and trees have been planted on the roads for the enjoyment of animals and men.

NOTES

1. The Eṛraguḍi version omits this name.

2. The Chōḍa called Chōḷa in Tamil is the name of the progenitor of a dynasty of kings whose kingdom comprised the Tiruchirappalli and Tanjavur Districts in Tamil Nadu. The Pāṇḍya is similarly the name of the first king of a dynasty whose kingdom covered the basin of the Vaigai river in Madurai District and the region as far up to Kanyakumari at the land's end. The name Satiyaputra is a northern rendering of the Tamil name Atiyamān (i.e., the descendant of Atiya, the first king), who ruled the north-western parts of Tamil Nadu between the Western Ghats and the Eastern low hills. (vide Tamil inscription from Jambai, North Arcot District, Tamil Nadu describing Atiyamān as *Satiyaputō Atiyamān Neḍumān Añji itta pāḷi* i.e. cavern donated by Satiyaputra Atiyamān Neḍumān Añji—from the *Dinamani* of 12-10-1981). Similarly Kēralaputra stands for Chēramān, the king of the country between the sea and the Western ghats in the south-west.

The name Satiyaputo is also Sanskritised as Satyaputra and is construed as the ruler of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam (eastern parts of Northern Tamil Nadu, south of Tirupati). Kāñchi, the capital city of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam has also the name

Satyavrata-kshētra according to the local hagiologies. The deity Śiva at Tirukkalimēḍu in the suburb of Kāñchi, (known as Tirukkacchiṇēri-Kāraikkāṇ in the sacred Saivite hymns) is called Satyavratēśvara. Skandaśishya, a Pallava king of about the 4th-5th centuries is said to have taken over the control of a *ghaṭikā* from Satyasēna. Puṅḍarī, a Tamil poet of the 12th century speaks of the people of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam as never saying untruth even if they get the entire world. There is a village Satyavēḍu near the northern border of Tiruvallur Taluk in Tamil Nadu. (*Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Kamakshi*, 1986, New Delhi, pp. 1-5). It may be noted that if *Satiyaputo* is understood as Atiyamān, Aśōka's enumeration of the Tamil kingdoms would not include a large area around Kāñchi which was however mostly under the control of the Chōḷas in early times.

Tambapamṇi (Tāmrapaṇi) was the name of Śrī-Laṅka. Antiyōka is the same as Antiochus II Theos (261-246 B.C.). See Aśōka's Rock Edict XIII (No. 16) below for the names of the Greek King's neighbours.

7. ROCK EDICT OF AŚŌKA—III

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-6 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock at Girnār, Junagadh District, Gujarat.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , pp. 4 f. and plate.

TEXT

देवानंपि (प्रि) यो प्रियदसि र[ा*]जा एवं आह ।

द्वादसवासाभिसितेन मया इदं आग्रपितं । सर्वत विजिते मम युता च¹ राजूके च पर्षि (प्रा) देसिके च पंचसु पंचसु वासेसु अनुसंयानं नियातु एतायेव अथाय इमाय धंमानुसट्सि (स्टि) य यथा अग्राय पि कमाय ।

साधु मातरि च पितरि च सुसू (सू) सा मितसंस्तुतग्रातीनं बाम्हण-समणानं साधु दानं पर्षि (प्रा) णानं साधु अनारंभो अपख (व्य) यता अपभांडता साधु ।

पारिसा पि युते आग्रपयिसति गणनायं हेतुतो च य्वं (व्यं) जनतो च ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह । द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया इदम् आग्रपितम् ।

सर्वत्र विजिते मम युक्ताः च रज्जुकाः च प्रादेशिकाः च पञ्चसु
पञ्चसु वर्षेषु अनुसंयानाय निर्यान्तु, एतस्मै एव अर्थाय अस्यै धर्मानुशस्तये,
यथा अन्यस्मै अपि कर्मणे ।

साध्वी मातरि च पितरि च शुश्रूषा । मित्रसंस्तुतजातिभ्यः ब्राह्मण-
श्रमणेभ्यः साधु दानं, प्राणिनां साधुः अनालम्भः, अल्पव्ययता अल्पभाण्डता
[च] साध्वी ।

परिषत् अपि युक्तान् आज्ञापयिष्यति गणनायां हेतुतः च व्यञ्जनतः
च ॥

SUMMARY

King Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the Gods, orders as follows, twelve years (i.e., in the thirteenth year) after his coronation:²

The officers Rajjuka and Prādēśika³ in my conquered dominions shall go out every five years on tour also for the propagation of *dharma* as laid down below, as (they do) their (official) duties:

It will be good to obey mother and father; good to be liberal to friends, acquaintances, kinsmen, Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas;⁴ good to abstain from killing living beings and good to spend and hoard a little.

The council (of ministers) also shall order the officers (to carry out these) according to my intentions and expressions.

NOTES

1. The other versions do not have this letter, thus making the word *yutā* qualify the following two words.

2. See note 3, No. 3 above.

3. This officer was evidently in charge of a well-marked area (*pradēśa*) like a district, province or region. The functions of these two officers seem to differ completely, their rank being not clear. See note 3, No. 3 above.

4. This refers to Jaina and Buddhist ascetics.

8. ROCK EDICT OF AŚŌKA—IV

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-6 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock, Girnar, Junagadh District, Gujarat.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, pp. 5 and plate.

TEXT

अतिकातं अंतरं बहूनि वाससतानि वढितो एव पर्षि(प्रा)णारंभो
विहिंसा च भूतानं ज्ञातीसु असर्प(प्र)तिपती ब्राह्मण-सं(स)मणानं
असर्प(प्र)तीपती ।

त अज देवानंप्पि(प्रि)यस पि(प्रि)यदसिनो राज्ञो धंम-चरणेन
भेरीधोसो अहो धंमघोसो । विमानदसणा च हस्ति-दसणा च अग्नि-खंधानि च
अजानि च दिव्वा(व्या)नि रूपानि दसयिप्ता(त्पा) जनं यारिसे बहूहि
वास-सतेहि न भूत-पुवे तारिसे अज वढिते देवानंप्पि(प्रि)यस पि(प्रि)-
यदसिनो राज्ञो धंमानुसट्ठि(स्ठि)या अनरंभो पर्षि(प्रा)णानं अविहीसा
भूतानं ज्ञातीनं संपटिपती ब्राह्मण-समणानं संपटिपती मातरि पितरि
सुसु(सु)सा थैरसुसुसा ।

एस अजे च बहुविधे धंमचरणे वढिते । वढयिसति चेव देवानंप्पि-
(प्रि)यो प्रियदसि राजा धंम[च*]रणं इदं ।

पुर्ता(त्ता)च पोर्ता(त्ता)च पर्षि(प्र)पोर्ता(त्ता)च देवानंप्पि(प्रि)-
यस पि(प्रि)यदसिनो राज्ञो [र्षि]प्र[*]वधयिसंति इदं धंमचरणं आव

सवटकपा धंमम्हि सीलम्हि तिट्सं (स्टं) तो धंमं अनुसासिसंति । एस हि सेट्से (स्टे) कंमे य धंमानुसासनं । धंमचरणे पि न भवति असीलस । त इमम्हि अथम्हि [व*]धी च अहिनी च साधु ।

एताय अथाय इदं लेखापितं इमस अथ[स]वधि युजंतु हीनि च नो लोचेतय्वा (व्या) ।

द्वादसवासाभिसितेन देवानंपि (प्रि) येन पि (प्रि) यदसिना रात्रा इदं लेखापितं ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं वहूनि वर्षशतानि वर्द्धितः एव प्राणालम्भः, विहिंसा च भूतानां, ज्ञातिषु असंप्रतिपत्तिः, ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानाम् असंप्रतिपत्तिः । तत् अद्य देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः धर्मचरणेन भेरीघोषः अभूत् धर्मघोषः ।

विमानदर्शनात् च हस्तिदर्शनात् च अग्निस्कन्धान् च अन्यानि च दिव्यानि रूपाणि दर्शयित्वा जनं यादृशं बहुभिः वर्षशतैः न भूतपूर्वं तादृशम् अद्य वर्द्धितं देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः धर्मानुशस्त्या—अनालम्भः प्राणानाम्, अविहिंसा भूतानां, ज्ञातीनां संप्रतिपत्तिः, ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानां संप्रतिपत्तिः, मातरि पितरि च शुश्रूषा, स्थविरशुश्रूषा । एतत् अन्यत् च बहुविधं धर्मचरणं वर्द्धितम् । वर्द्धयिष्यति च एव देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा धर्मचरणम् इदम् ।

पुत्राः च पौत्राः च प्रपौत्राः च देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः प्रवर्द्धयिष्यन्ति इदं धर्मचरणं यावत् संवर्तकल्पम् । धर्मे शीले [च] तिष्ठन्तः धर्मम् अनुशासिष्यन्ति च । एतत् श्रेष्ठं कर्म यत् धर्मानुशासनम् । धर्मचरणम् अपि न भवति अशीलस्य । अस्मिन् अर्थे वृद्धिः च अहीनिः च साधुः ।

एतस्मै अर्थाय इदं लेखितम्—अस्य अर्थस्य वृद्धिः यज्यतां, हीनिः
च नः रोचयितव्या ।

द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा इदं लेखितम् ॥

SUMMARY

For hundreds of years in the past the killing of living beings, cruelty to them, disrespect to relatives, Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas increased, though people were sought to be impressed with the vision of celestial cars, celestial elephants, masses of fire as well as many other heavenly forms.¹

But now as a result of both precept and practice on the part of the king, the practice of *dharma* has increased and every proclamation by beat of drums has become the proclamation of *dharma*. **Abstention from the killing of living beings, non-violence, proper behaviour towards relatives, respect to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, devotion to and care of parents and elders and similar other acts of dharma** have developed. The **Beloved of the Gods** will encourage their further development.

His sons, grandsons and great-grandsons will exert similarly and instruct the people for all time. But the practice of *dharma* is impossible for a person without character.

This record is written to achieve the promotion of *dharma* and to prevent its deterioration.

This is written by the king, twelve years after his coronation.

NOTE

1. This is apparently a reference to the Purāṇic accounts of heaven and hell.

9. ROCK EDICT OF AŚŌKA—V

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-6 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock, Mānsehrā, Hazara District, Pakistan.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, pp. 74 f and plate.

TEXT

देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह । कलनं दुकरं । ये अदिकरे
कयणस से दुकरं करोति । तं मय¹ बहु कयणे कटे । तं मअ पुत्र च नतरे²
च पर च तेन ये अपतिये मे अवकपं तथ अनुवटिशति से सुकट कषति ।
ये चु अत्र देश पि हपेशति से दुकट कषति । पपे हि नम सुपदखे ।

से अतिक्रतं अंतरं न भुतप्रुव धममहमत्र नम । से त्तेडशवषभिसितेन
मय ध्रममहमत्र कट । ते सत्रपषडेप वपुट ध्रमधितनये च ध्रमवधिय
हिदसुखये च ध्रमयुतस योनकंबोजगधरनरठिकपितिनिकन ये व पि अत्रे
अपरत । भटमयेषु ब्रमणिभ्येषु अनथेषु वुध्रेषु हिदसुखये ध्रमयुत अपलि-
बोधये वियपुट ते । वधनवधस पटिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये च इयं
अनुवध प्रजवति व कटूभिकर ति व महलके³ ति व वियप्रट ते । हिद वहिरेषु
च नगरेषु सत्रेषु ओरोधनेषु भतन च स्पसुन⁴ च ये व पि अत्रे जतिके सवत्र
वियपट । ए इयं ध्रमनिशितो तो व ध्रमधितने ति व दन संयुते ति व सवत्र
विजितसि मअ ध्रमयुतसि वपुट ते ध्रममहमत्र ।

एतये अथ्रये अयि ध्रमदिपि⁵ लिखित चिरठितिक होतु तथा च मे
प्रज अनुवटतु ॥

SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह । कल्याणं दुष्करम् । यः आदिकरः कल्याणस्य सः दुष्करं करोति । तत् मया बहु कल्याणं कृतम् । तत् मम पुत्राः च नप्तारः च परं च तेभ्यः यत् अपत्यं मे यावत् कल्पं तथा अनुवर्तिष्यन्ते, ते सुकृतं करिष्यन्ति । यः तु अत्र [एक]देशम् अपि हास्यति सः दुष्कृतं करिष्यति । पापं हि नाम सुप्रदार्यम् ।

तत् अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं न भूतपूर्वाः धर्ममहामात्राः नाम । तत् त्रयोदशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया धर्ममहामात्राः कृताः । ते सर्वपाषण्डेषु व्यापृताः धर्माधिष्ठानाय च, धर्मवृद्धये हितसुखाय च धर्मयुतस्य यवन-काम्बोजगन्धाराणां राष्ट्रिकपैत्यणिकानां ये वा अपि अन्ये अपरान्ताः । भृतार्येषु ब्राह्मणेभ्येषु अनाथेषु वृद्धेषु हितसुखाय धर्मयुतापरिबोधाय व्यापृताः ते । बन्धनवद्धस्य प्रतिविधानाय अपरिबोधाय मोक्षाय च । एतत् अनुवद्धं प्रजावान् वा कृताभिकारः इति वा महल्लकः इति वा व्यापृताः ते । इह बहिः च नगरेषु सर्वेषु अवरोधनेषु भ्रातृणां च स्वसृणां च ये वा अपि अन्ये ज्ञातयः सर्वत्र व्यापृताः । ये—अयं धर्मनिश्चितः इति वा धर्माधिष्ठानः इति वा दानसंयुतः इति वा सर्वत्र विजिते मम धर्मयुते व्यापृताः—ते धर्ममहामात्राः ।

एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लिखिता । चिरस्थितिका भवतु । तथा च मे प्रजा अनुवर्तताम् ॥

SUMMARY

King Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the Gods says: It is difficult to do good. He who starts doing good, does a difficult deed indeed! I have done many a good deed. Those among my sons and grandsons and later generations who do good will be doing an act of merit. Those who do not do even a part of it will do an act of demerit. It is indeed easy to commit sin.

No officers called Dharma-Mahāmātras⁶ were appointed in the past. I created (that cadre) thirteen years after my coronation.

They are concerned with the establishment and the promotion of *dharma* among the people of all religious faiths (*pāshaṇḍa*)⁷ and with the welfare and happiness among the Yavanas (Greeks)⁸, the Kāmbōjas, the Gāndhāras, the Rāshṭrika—Paitryaṇikas and other peoples living along the western borders. They are also concerned with the welfare and happiness of the servant class, the merchants and agriculturists, the Brāhmaṇas and the ruling class⁹ and also of the destitute and the aged. They are similarly engaged with the welfare of prisoners by distributing money to those with progeny and by releasing those who turned criminals by instigation and the aged among them. These officers are engaged here¹⁰, outside and everywhere, in all the towns and in the households of my brothers, sisters-in-law, and other relatives. They are engaged everywhere in my kingdom in finding out whether one is inclined towards *dharma* or established in *dharma* or one is given to charity.

This edict on *dharma* is written for the purpose (mentioned above) so that it may last long. So also let posterity follow this.

NOTES

1. Erraguḍi version has मम
2. Girnar has पोता (पौत्रः)
3. Girnar has थैरषु (स्थविरेषु)
4. Erraguḍi has भगिनिनं (भगिनीनां)
5. Except Shābāzgarhī all other versions have लिपि. दिपि is due to Persian influence.
6. Only *Mahāmātras* were engaged in supervising the management of the judiciary, royal household, border areas etc.
7. This refers to the non-conformist faiths. *Dharma* is common to all including the Buddhists. See Edicts VII and XII.
8. See No. 16, note 4. These and the following groups lived in the area now comprising Afghanistan and Pakistan. The next group probably refers to the tribal people living in the borders. *Rāshṭrika* is no doubt a designation.
9. This is clearly a reference to the four castes i.e., respectively the Śūdras, the Vaiśyas, the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas. Hultzsch has understood this passage as 'servants, masters, Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas (*Vaiśyas*).
10. The Girnar version refers to Pāṭaliputra (Pāṭna in Bihar), thus suggesting that the draft pertains to the capital city.

10. ROCK EDICT OF AŚŌKA—VI

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-6 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock, Girnar, Junagadh District, Gujarat.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, pp. 11-12 f. and plate.

TEXT

देवा[नंपियो*] [पियद*]सि राजा एवं आह ।

अतिक्रातं अंतरं न भूतर्पु(प्रु)व स[वे काले*] अथकमे च पटिवेदना वा । त मया एवं कतं ।

सवे काले भूजमानस मे ओरोधनम्हि गभागारम्हि वचम्हि व विनीतम्हि च उयानेसु च सर्वर्त(त्त) पटिवेदका ट्स(स्टि)ता अथे मे जनस पटिवेदेथ इति । सर्वर्त(त्त) च जनस अथे करोमि ।

य च किंचि मुखतो आज्रपयामि स्वयं दापकं वा सा(स्त्रा)वापकं वा य वा पुन महामार्ते(त्ते)सु आचायिके अरोपितं भवति ताय अथाय विवादो निञ्जती व संतो परिसायं आनंतरं पटिवेदेतय्वं(व्यं) मे सर्वर्त(त्त) सर्वे काले । एवं मया आज्रपितं । नास्ति हि मे तोसो उट्सा(स्टा)नम्हि अथसंतीरणाय व । कतय्व(व्य)मते हि मे सर्वलोकहितं । तस च पुन एस मूले उट्सा(स्टा)नं च अथसंतीरणा च । नास्ति हि कंमतरं सर्वलोकहि-

तप्ता(त्पा) । य च किञ्चि पराक्रमामि अहं किं ति भूतानं आनणं गच्छेयं ।
इध च नानि सुखापयामि परर्ता(त्रा) च स्वर्गं आराधयंतु ।

त एताय अथाय अयं धंमलिपी लेखापिता किंति चिरं तिट्से(स्टे)-
य इति तथा च मे पुर्ता(त्रा)पोता च र्प(प्र)पोर्ता(त्रा)च अनुवतरां
सवलोकहिताय । दुकरं तु इदं अत्रर्त(त्र) अगेन प्रराक्रमेन ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—

अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं न भूतपूर्वं सर्वस्मिन् काले अर्थकर्म वा प्रतिवेदना
वा । तत् मया एवं कृतम् ।

सर्वस्मिन् काले भुञ्जानस्य मे, अवरोधने, गर्भागारे, व्रजे वा विनीते
च उद्यानेषु च सर्वत्र प्रतिवेदकाः स्थिताः अर्थ मे जनस्य प्रतिवेदयन्तु इति ।
सर्वत्र च जनस्य अर्थं करोमि ।

यत् च किञ्चित् मुखतः आज्ञापयामि स्वयं, दापकं वा, श्रावकं वा,
यत् वा पुनः महामात्रेषु आत्ययिकम् आरोपितं 'भवति तस्मै अर्थाय
विवादः निद्व्यधातिः वा सती' परिषदि, अनन्तरं प्रतिवेदयितव्यं मे सर्वत्र
सर्वस्मिन् काले । एवं मया आज्ञप्तम् । नास्ति हि मे तोषः उत्थाने
अर्थसन्तीर्णायां वा । कर्तव्यं मतं हि मे सर्वलोकहितम् । तस्य च पुनः
एतत् मूलम्—उत्थानम्, अर्थसन्तीर्णा च । नास्ति हि कर्मतरं सर्वलोक-
हितत्वात् । यत् च किञ्चित् पराक्रमामि अहं—किमिति ? भूतानाम्
आनृण्यं गच्छेयम् [इति] । इह च एनान् सुखयामि, परत्र च स्वर्गम्
आराधयन्तु ।

तत् एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता । किमिति ? चिरं तिष्ठेत
इति, तथा च मे पुत्राः पौत्राः च प्रपौत्राः च अनुवर्तेरन् सर्वलोकहिताय ।
दुष्करं तु इदम् अन्यत्र अग्रेण पराक्रमेण ॥

SUMMARY

King Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the Gods, says:

State business was not reported or carried out at all hours in the past. I have therefore made the following arrangement.

At all times, whether I am dining, am in the harem or in the innermost chamber or am roaming about or am in the carriage or am in the pleasure gardens, reporters should inform me about the affairs of the people.

Should there be a controversy regarding my oral orders among the Mahāmātras or the Council of Ministers, it should be reported to me immediately at any place and time. Exertion and promptness are the roots (principles) of my duty. No other duty is more important for me. My main duty is to promote the welfare of all men about which I am not complacent. This I do—what for?—in order to discharge my debt to all living beings and to make them happy in this and also in the next world.

Therefore this edict on **dharma** is written—why?—so that it may last long and so that my sons, grandsons, great-grandsons may also do so for universal welfare. This is indeed difficult to do without maximum exertion.

11. ROCK EDICT OF AŚŌKA—VII

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-6 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock, Shābāzgarhī, Peshawar District, Pakistan.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, p. 59 and plate.

TEXT

देवनंप्रियो प्रिय[द्र*]शि रज सवत्र इच्छति सवप्रषडं वसेयु ।
सवे हि ते सयमे भव-शुधि च इच्छंति । जनो चु उचवुच-छंदो उचवुच-
रगो । ते सवत्रं व एकदेशं व पि कषंति ।

विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयम भव-शुधि किटूअत द्रिढ-भतित
निचे पढं¹ ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा सर्वत्र इच्छति सर्वपाषण्डाः वसेयुः ।
सर्वे हि ते संयमं भावशुद्धिं च इच्छन्ति । जनः तु उच्चावचच्छंदः उच्चा-
वचरागः [च] । ते सर्वं वा एकदेशं वा अपि करिष्यन्ति ।

विपुलम् अपि तु दानं यस्य नास्ति संयमः, भावशुद्धिः, कृतज्ञता,
दृढभक्तता च । नीचं बाढम् ॥

SUMMARY

King Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the Gods wishes that all religious sects² should live (harmoniously) everywhere.

All of them desire to have self-control and purity in thought. However people are having varying inclinations and diversions; and so they may perform all their duties or only part of them.

Even if one is given to charity very liberally it will be quite worthless if he has no self-control, purity of thought, gratitude and firm adherence (to *dharma*)³.

NOTES

1. Erraguḍi version reads बाढं.

2. See note 7 on No. 9 Reference to other non-conformist sects also is included in this, as harmonious living is a two-way affair. See No. 15.

3. See No. 8 where possession of character is emphasised.

12. ROCK EDICT OF AŚŌKA—VIII

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-6 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock, Gīrnār, Junagadh District, Gujarat.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, p. 14 and plate.

TEXT

अतिकातं अंतरं राजानो¹ विहारयातां त्रयासु । एत मगय्वा (व्या)
अत्रानि च एतारिसानि अभीरमकानि अहुंसु । सो देवानंपियो पियदसि
राजा दसवसभिसितो संतो अयाय संबोधि । तेनेसा धंमयाता । एतयं होति
वाम्हण-समणानं दसणे च दाने च थैरानं दसणे च हिरण-पटिविधानो च
जानपदस च जनस दस्पनं धंमानुसट्सी (स्टी) च धमपरिपुछा च तदोपया ।
एसा भुयरति भवति देवानंपियस पि (प्रि) यदसिनो रात्रो भागे अंत्रे ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं राजानः विहारयात्रां निरयासिषुः । अत्र मृगया
अन्यानि च एतादृशानि अभिरमकाणि अभूवन् । तत् देवानांप्रियः
प्रियदर्शी राजा दशवर्षाभिषिक्तः सन् अयात् सम्बोधिम् । तेन एषा धर्म-
यात्रा ।

एतस्यां भवति—ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानां दर्शनं च दानं च, स्थविराणां
दर्शनं च हिरण्यप्रतिविधानं च, जानपदस्य जनस्य दर्शनं धर्मानुशस्तिः च,

धर्मपरिपृच्छा च तदुपगा । एषा भूयोरतिः भवति देवानांप्रियस्य प्रिय-
दर्शिनः राज्ञः, भग्नम् अन्यत् ॥

SUMMARY

In the ages gone by, kings² were going on tours when they enjoyed pleasures like hunting and other pastimes.

King **Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the Gods**, visited Sambōdhi³ ten years after coronation. Since then began his pilgrimages for (the spread of) *dharma*.

During such pilgrimages the following take place: visiting the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas and making gifts to them; meeting the aged and providing money for them; contacting the rural people, preaching and discussing (the subject of) *dharma* and making them follow the same.

This, more than other (pastimes), affords the highest pleasure to the king. Other pleasures are inferior.

NOTES

1. Other versions have देवानं प्रिया instead of राजानो. See note 2 below.
2. See note 1 above. This difference in the text has prompted Sircar (*Aśōkan Studies*, p. 28) to render it as "[kings styled] 'Beloved of the Gods' ". Though Aśōka himself might have gone on hunting, the context seems to suggest that the reference is to all the kings before his times.
3. Sambōdhi is the same as Bōdhgayā where Gautama Buddha obtained enlightenment.

13. ROCK EDICT OF AŚŌKA—IX

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-6 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock, Mānsehrā, Hazara District, Pakistan.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, pp. 78 f. and plate.

TEXT

देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह । जने उचवुचं मंगलं करोति ।
अवधसि अवहसि विवहसि प्रजोपदये प्रवसस्वि एतये अजये च एदिशये
जने बहु मंगलं करोति । अत्र तु अवकजनिक बहु च बहुविध च खुद च
निरथिय च मंगलं करोति । से कटविये चे व खो मगले । अप-फले चु
खो एषे ।

इयं चु खो महफले ये ध्रम-मगले । अत्र इयं दसभटकसि सम्य-
पटिपति गुरुन अपचिति, प्रणन सयमे श्रमण-ब्रमणन दने । एषे अणे च
एदिशे ध्रम-मगले नम । से वतविये पितुन पि पुत्रेन पि भ्रतुन पि स्पमिकेन
पि मित्रसंस्तुतेन [पि*] अव पटिवेशितेन पि इयं सधु इयं कटविये मगले अव
तस अथस निवुटिय निवुटसि व पुन इम कषमि ति । ए हि इतरे मगले
शशयिके से । सिय व तं अथं निवटेय सिय पन नो । हिदलोकिके चेव
से । इयं पुन ध्रममगले अकलिके । हचे पि तं अथं नो निवटेति हिद अथ

परत्र अनत पुण प्रसवति । हचे पुन तं अश्रं निवटेति हिद ततो उभयेसं
अरधे होति । हिद च से अश्रे परत्र च अनत पुणं प्रसवति तेन ध्रम-[म*]
गलेन ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—जनः उच्चावचं मङ्गलं
करोति । आवाधे आवाहे विवाहे प्रजोत्पदायां प्रवासे एतस्मिन् अन्य-
स्मिन् च एतादृशे जनः बहु मङ्गलं करोति । अत्र तु अम्बिकाजनिकं
बहु च बहुविधं च क्षुद्रं च निरर्थकं च मङ्गलं करोति । तत् कर्तव्यं च
एव खलु मङ्गलम् । अल्पफलं च तु खलु एतत् ।

इदं च तु खलु महाफलं यत् धर्ममङ्गलम् । अत्र इदम्—दासभू-
तकेषु सम्यक् प्रतिपत्तिः, गुरुणाम् अपचितिः, प्राणानां संयमः, श्रमण-
ब्राह्मणेभ्यः दानम् ।

एतत् अन्यत् च एतादृशं धर्ममङ्गलं नाम । तत् वक्तव्यं पित्ता
अपि, पुत्रेण अपि, भ्रात्रा अपि, स्वामिकेन अपि, मित्रसंस्तुतेन [अपि],
यावत् प्रातिवेश्यं अपि—“इदं साधु, इदं कर्तव्यं मङ्गलं यावत् तस्य अर्थस्य
निर्वृत्तिम्, निर्वृत्ते वा पुनः इदं करिष्यामि” इति । यत् हि इतरं मङ्गलं
सांशयिकं तत् । स्यात् वा तम् अर्थं निर्वर्तयेत्, स्यात् पुनः न । ऐहलौकिकं
च एव तत् । इदं पुनः धर्ममङ्गलम् अकालिकम् । हञ्चेत् अपि तम् अर्थं
न निर्वर्तयति इह, अथ परत्र अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसाव्यते । हञ्चेत् पुनः तम् अर्थं
निर्वर्तयति इह, ततः उभयस्य आराद्धं भवति । इह च सः अर्थः । परत्र
च अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसाव्यते तेन धर्ममङ्गलेन ॥

SUMMARY

King Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the Gods, says thus: People perform various kinds of auspicious ceremonies on occasions of illness, the wedding of a son or daughter or the birth of children or

on their setting out on travel. Womenfolk perform different kinds of meaningless ceremonies. Auspicious ceremonies should nevertheless be performed, though they yield meagre results.

On the other hand ceremonies associated with *dharma* such as proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders and preceptors, restraint in dealings with living beings and liberality to the Śramaṇas and the Brāhmaṇas, produce great results.

One ought to declare to every other person i.e., father, son, brother, master, friend or neighbours:

“I will perform this rite (associated with *dharma*) as it is good. This will be done till the desired object is achieved. Even afterwards I will do this.”

Performance of other rites are of doubtful value. The desired object may or may not be attained. They may produce results in this world only. But these rites (of *dharma*) are of eternal value. If by chance, a person does not obtain his object in this world, endless merit will accrue (to him) in the next world. If he obtains merit in this world itself then he gets merit in both i.e., in this world as well as the next world as a result of these ceremonies of *dharma*.

14. ROCK EDICT OF AŚŌKA—X

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-6 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock, Gīrnār, Junagadh District, Gujarat.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, pp. 17 f. and plate.

TEXT

देवानंपि(प्रि)यो पि(प्रि)यदसि राजा यसो व कीति व न महा-
थावहा मत्रते अत्रत तदाप्त(त्प)नो दिघाय च मे जनो धंमसुसु(सु)सा
सुसु(सु)सता धंमवुतं च अनुविधियता । एतकाय देवानंपियो पियदसि
राजा यसो व किति व इछति । यं तु किचि परिकामते देवानं[प्रियो*]
पि(प्रि)यदसि राजा त सवं पारर्ति(त्ति)काय किति सकले अपपरिर्स-
(स्र)वे अस ।

एस तु परिसवे य अपुंजं । दुकरं तु खो एतं खुदकेन व जनेन उसटेन
व अत्रर्त(त्त) अगेन परार्क(क्क)मेन सवं परिचजिप्ता(त्पा) । एत तु
खो उसटेन दुकरं ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा यशः वा कीर्तिं वा न महार्थवहां
मन्यते अन्यत्र 'तदात्वे दीर्घायां च मे जनो धर्मशुश्रूषां शुश्रूषतां धर्मवृत्तं च

अनुविधीयताम्' । एतस्मै देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा यशः वा कीर्तिं वा इच्छति । यत् किञ्चित् पराक्रमति देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा तत् सर्वं पारत्रिकाय । किमिति, सकलः अल्पपरिस्त्रवः स्यात् ।

एषः तु परिस्त्रवः यत् अपुण्यम् । दुष्करं तु खलु एतत् क्षुद्रकेन वा जनेन, उत्सृतेन वा अन्यत्र अग्रात् पराक्रमात् सर्वं परित्यज्य । एतत् खलु उत्सृतेन दुष्कर(तर*)म् ॥

SUMMARY

King Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the Gods, does not value his own fame² as much as he values the fame based on the observance of these instructions on *dharma* by the people at present and also in future.

All his exertions aim at the people's happiness in the other world and their being free from impurity flowing out of sin. It is difficult to be free from this impurity if both the rich and the poor do not force themselves to give up other aims. It is indeed more difficult for the rich to do so.

NOTES

1. Other versions read तदत्वाये आयतीये च. Hultzsch (op. cit., p. 18, note 8) quotes तदात्वे च आयत्यां च from Kauṭilya's *Artha-śāstra*.

2. This includes both glory during one's life and fame after death, as Sircar would distinguish between the two (*Sel. Ins.* 1, p. 29) on the basis of the two synonymous words (*yaśaḥ* and *kīrtiḥ*).



No. 15

15. ROCK EDICT OF AŚŌKA—XII¹

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-6 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock, Shābāzgarhī, Peshawar District, Pakistan.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, p. 54 f. and plate.

TEXT

देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय सन्न-प्रषंडनि प्रव्रजितनि ग्रहथनि च पुजेति दनेन विविधये च पुजये । नो चु तथ दन व पुज व देवनंप्रियो मन्नति यथ किति सलवढि सिय-सन्न-प्रषंडनं । सलवढि तु बहुविध ।

तस तु इयो मुल यं वचोगुति । किति अतप्रषंड-पुज व पर-प्रषंड-गर[ह*]न व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि तसि प्रकरणे । पुजेतविय व चु पर-प्रषंड तेन तेन अकरेन । एवं करतं अत-प्रषंडं वढेति पर-प्रषंडंस पि च उपकरोति । तद अत्रथ करमिनो अत-प्रषंड क्षणति पर-प्रषंडस च अपकरोति । यो हि कचि अत-प्रषंडं पुजेति पर-प्रषंडं गरहति सव्रे अत-प्रषंड-भतिय व किति अत-प्रषंडं दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथ करतं [सो च पुन तथ करतं²] वढतरं उपहंति अत-प्रषंडं । सो सयमो वो सधु । किति अन्नमन्नस ध्रमो श्रुण्येयु च सुश्रुषेयु च ति । एवं हि देवनंप्रियस इछ किति सन्न-प्रषंड बहु-श्रुत च कलणगम च सियसु । ये च तत्र

तत्र प्रसन तेषं वतवो देवनंप्रियो न तथ दनं व पुज व मज्जति यथ किति
सल-वढि सियति सन्न-प्रपडनं ।

बहुक च एतये अठ[ये*] वपट ध्रम-मह-मत्र इस्त्रिधियक्षमहमत्र
ब्रचभूमिक अत्रे च निकये । इमं च एतिस फलं यं अत-पपड-वढि भोति
ध्रमस च दिपन ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा सर्व-पार्षदान् प्रव्रजितान् गृहस्थान् च
पूजयति दानेन विविधया च पूजया । नो च तु तथा दानं वा पूजां वा
देवानांप्रियः मन्यते यथा—किमिति—सारवृद्धिः स्यात् सर्वपार्षदानाम् ।
सारवृद्धिः तु बहुविधा ।

तस्याः तु इदं मूलं यत् वचोगुप्तिः । किमिति—आत्मपार्षदपूजा
वा परपार्षदगर्हणं वा नो स्यात् अप्रकरणे, लघुकं वा स्यात् तस्मिन्
तस्मिन् प्रकरणे । पूजयितव्याः एव च तु परपार्षदाः तेन तेन आकारेण । एवं
कुर्वन् आत्मपार्षदं वर्धयति, परपार्षदम् अपि च उपकरोति । ततः अन्यथा
कुर्वाणः आत्मपार्षदं क्षिणोति परपार्षदं च अपकरोति । यः हि कश्चित्
आत्मपार्षदं पूजयति परपार्षदं [वा] गर्हति—एतत् सर्वम् आत्मपार्षद-
भक्त्या एव । किमिति—‘आत्मपार्षदं दीपयामि’ इति । सः च पुनः
तथा कुर्वन् वाढतरम् उपहन्ति आत्मपार्षदम् । तत् संयमः एव साधुः ।
किमिति—अन्यो अन्यस्य धर्मं शृणुयुः शुश्रूषेरन् च इति । एवं हि देवानां-
प्रियस्य इच्छा । किमिति—सर्वपार्षदाः बहुश्रुताः च कल्याणागमाः च
स्युः । ये च तत्र तत्र प्रसन्नाः तेभ्यः वक्तव्यं—देवानांप्रियः न तथा दानं
वा पूजां वा मन्यते यथा—किमिति—सारवृद्धिः स्यात् सर्वपार्षदानाम् ।

बहुकाः च एतस्मै अर्थाय व्यापृताः धर्ममहामात्राः, स्त्र्यध्यक्षमहा-
मात्राः, ब्रजभूमिकाः अन्यः च निकायः । इदं च एतस्य फलं यत् आत्म-
पार्षदवृद्धिः भवति, धर्मस्य च दीपना [इति] ॥

SUMMARY

King Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the Gods, honours men, both ascetics and householders, of all religious communities³ with various gifts. But he considers the growth of the essentials of *dharma* more valuable than these gifts. *Dharma* can be developed in many ways.

The root of *dharma* lies in **restraint of speech**. How? **There should be no excessive praise of one's own religious sect or disparagement of other sects.** Even so it (the former) should be moderate on appropriate occasions. On the other hand other sects should be honoured properly. By doing so one promotes his own sect and benefits others. Otherwise he injures both. **If one praises his own sect and speaks of other sects disparagingly, on account of his attachment of his own sect, saying—what? 'I will make my sect shine', he will be harming his own sect more severely. Therefore restraint (of speech) is good.** How? **People should learn and respect one another's views on *dharma*.** The Beloved of the Gods, wishes what?—that people of all sects should be well informed and should be interested in the welfare (of all). They should be informed thus: "The Beloved of the Gods does not value gifts to or honouring of people. But what?—there should be growth of essentials of all sects."

Many of my officers including Mahāmātras in charge of *dharma*, Mahāmātras in charge of matters relating to the ladies (of the royal household), officers in charge of cattle and pasture lands and other groups of officers are engaged in propagating this. The result is promotion of one's own sect and glorification of *dharma*.

NOTES

1. Edict XI is not included here because it is nearly the same as the contents of the last two paragraphs (summary) in Edict IX.

2. This passage in brackets is redundant.

3. See No. 9 note 7; No. 11, note 2

16. ROCK EDICT OF AŚŌKA—XIII

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-6 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock, Shāhbāzgarhī, Peshawar District, Pakistan.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, pp. 66 ff. and plate.

TEXT

अठवष-अभिसितस देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रओ कलिग विजित ।
दिअढमत्ते प्रणशतसहस्से ये ततो अपवुढे शतसहस्त्रमत्ते तत्र हते बहुतवतके
व मुटे । ततो पच अधुन लधेषु कलिगेषु तिन्ने ध्रमशिलन ध्रमकमत ध्रम-
नुशस्ति च देवनंप्रियस । सो अस्ति अनुसोचन देवनप्रिअस विजिनिति
कलिगनि । अविजितं हि विजिनमनो यो तत्र वध व मरणं व अपवहो
व जनस तं वढं वेदनियमतं गुरुमतं च देवनंप्रियस । इदं पि चु ततो गुरु-
मततरं देवनंप्रियस ये तत्र वसति ब्रमण व श्रमण व अंत्रे व प्रषंड ग्रहथ व
येसु विहित एष अग्रभुटि-सुश्रुष मतपितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुन सुश्रुष मित्तसं-
स्तुतसहयत्रतिकेषु दसभटकनं सम्मप्रतिपति द्विढभतित तेष तत्र भोति
अपग्रथो व वधो व अभिरतन व निक्रमणं । येष व पि सुविहितनं सि[ने*]-
हो अविप्रहिनो ए तेष मित्तसंस्तुतसहयत्रतिक वसन प्रपुणति तत्र तं पि तेष
वो अपग्रथो भोति । प्रतिभगं¹ च एतं सब्रमनुशनं गुरुमतं च देवनंप्रियस ।
नस्ति च एकतरे पि प्रषडस्पि न नम प्रसदो । सो यमत्तो जनो तद कलिगे

हतो च मुटो च अपवुढ च ततो शतभगे व सहस्रभगं व अज गुरुमतं वो देवनंप्रियस । यो पि च अपकरेयति क्षमितवियमते व देवनंप्रियस यं शको क्षमनये । य पि च अटवि देवनंप्रियस विजिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अपुनिजपेति । अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे देवनंप्रियस वुचति तेष किति अवत्तपेयु न च हंज्रेयसु । इच्छति हि देवनंप्रियो सव्रभुतन अक्षति संयमं समचरियं रभसिये । अयि च मुख-मुत विजये देवनंप्रियस यो ध्रमविजयो । सो च पुन लधो देवनंप्रियस इह च सवेषु च अंतेषु अ षषु पि योजनशतेषु यत्त अंतियोको नम योनरज परं च तेन अंतियोकेन चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकसुदरो नम निच चोड पंड अव तंवपंणिय । एवमेव हिद रजविषवस्पि योनकंबोयेषु नभक नभितिन भोजपितिनिकेषु अंध्रपलिदेषु सवत्त देवनंप्रियस ध्रमनुशस्ति अनुवटंति । यत्त पि देवनं प्रियस दूत न व्रचंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस ध्रमवुटं विधनं ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमं अनु-विधियंति अनुविधियिंति च । यो स लधे एतकेन भोति सवत्त विजयो सवत्त पुन विजयो प्रितिरसो सो । लध भोति प्रिति ध्रमविजयस्पि । लहुक तु खो स प्रिति । परत्तिकमेव महफल मेग्रति देवनंप्रियो । एतये च अठये अयि ध्रमदिपि । किति पुत्त-पपोत्त मे असु नवं विजयं म विजेतविअ मज्जिषु । स्पकस्पि यो विजये क्षंति च लहुदंडत च रोचेतु । तं च यो विजयं मगत्तु यो ध्रमविजयो । सो हिदलोकिको परलोकिको । सव चतिरति भोतु य ध्रमरति । स हि हिदलोकिक परलोकिक ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

अष्टवर्षाभिषिक्तेन देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा कलिङ्गाः विजिताः । द्व्यद्धर्चमात्रं प्राणशतसहस्रं यत् ततः अपोढं शतसहस्रमात्रं तत्त हतं, बहु तावत्कं वा मृतम् । ततः पश्चात् अधुना लब्धेषु कलिङ्गेषु तीव्रं धर्मशीलनं, धर्मकामता, धर्मानुशस्तिः च देवानांप्रियस्य । तत् अस्ति अनुशोचनं देवानांप्रियस्य विजित्य कलिङ्गान् । अविजिते हि विजीयमाने यः

तत्र वधः वा मरणं वा अपवाहः वा जनस्य, तत् वाढं वेदनीयमतं गुरुमतं च देवानांप्रियस्य । इदम् अपि च तु ततः गुरुमततरं देवानांप्रियस्य—ये तत्र वसन्ति ब्राह्मणाः वा श्रमणाः वा अन्ये वा पार्षदाः गृहस्थाः वा—येषु विहिता एषा अग्रभृतिशुश्रूषा, मातापितृषु शुश्रूषा, गुरुणां शुश्रूषा, मित्र-संस्तुतसहायज्ञातिकेषु, दासभृतकेषु सम्यक्प्रतिपत्तिः, दृढभक्तिता [च]—तेषां तत्र भवति अपग्रथः वा वधः वा अभिरक्तानां वा निष्क्रामणम् । येषां वा अपि सुविहितानां स्नेहः अविप्रहीनः, यत् तेषां मित्रसंस्तुतज्ञातिकाः व्यसनं प्राप्नुवन्ति, तत्र तत् अपि तेषाम् एव अपग्रथः भवति । प्रतिभागः च एतत् सर्वमनुष्याणां, गुरुमतं च देवानांप्रियस्य । नास्ति च एकतरे अपि पार्षदे न नाम प्रसादः [जनस्य] । तत् यन्मात्रः जनः तदा कलिङ्गे हतः च मृतः च अपोढः च, ततः शतभागः वा सहस्रभागः वा अद्य गुरुमतः एव देवानांप्रियस्य । यः अपि च अपकुर्यात् क्षन्तव्यमतम् एव देवानांप्रियस्य यत् शक्यं क्षमणाय । या अपि च अटवी देवानांप्रियस्य विजिते भवति, ताम् अपि अनुनयति अनुनिद्धयाययति । अनुतापे अपि च प्रभावः देवानांप्रियस्य उच्यते तेभ्यः । किमिति—अवतपेरन्, न च हन्येरन् । इच्छति हि देवानांप्रियः सर्वभूतानाम् अक्षतिं संयमं समचर्य राभस्ये । अयं च मुखमतः विजयः देवानांप्रियस्य यः धर्मविजयः । सः च पुनः लब्धः देवानांप्रियेण इह च सर्वेषु च अन्तेषु आ षड्भ्यः अपि योजनशतेभ्यः, यत्र अन्तियोक्तः नाम यवनराजः, परं च तस्मात् अन्तियोक्तात् चत्वारः ४ राजानः तुरमायः नाम, अन्तेकिनः नाम, मकाः नाम, अलिकसुन्दरः नाम, नीचाः चोल-पाण्ड्याः यावत् ताम्रपर्णीयान् । एवम् एव इह राजविषये यवनकाम्बोजेषु नाभकनाभपतिषु भोजपैत्यणिकेषु अन्ध्रपुलिन्देषु सर्वत्र देवानांप्रियस्य धर्मानुशस्तिम् अनुवर्तते । यत्र अपि देवानांप्रियस्य दूताः न व्रजन्ति, ते अपि श्रुत्वा देवानांप्रियस्य धर्मोक्तं, विधानं, धर्मानुशस्तिं [च] धर्मम् अनुविदधति अनुविधास्यन्ति च । यः सः लब्धः एतकेन भवति सर्वत्र विजयः, सर्वत्र पुनः विजयः प्रीतिरसः सः । लब्धा भवति प्रीतिः धर्मविजये । लघुका तु खलु सा प्रीतिः । पारत्रिकम् एव महाफलं मन्यते

देवानांप्रियः । एतस्मै च अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः निवेशिता । किमिति—
पुत्राः प्रपौत्राः मे स्युः नवं विजयं मा विजेतव्यं मंसत । स्वके एव विजये
क्षान्तिः च लघुदण्डता च रोचताम् । तं च एव विजयं मन्यन्तां यः
धर्मविजयः । सः ऐहलौकिकः पारलौकिकः [च] । सर्वा च अतिरतिः भवतु
या धर्मरतिः । सा ऐहलौकिकी पारलौकिकी [च] ॥

SUMMARY

The country of the Kalingas was conquered by King Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the Gods, eight years after his coronation. Men and animals numbering one hundred thousand were captured alive and several hundred thousands of them died during, and as a result of the war. He repented for this extremely painful and deplorable action and has now become devoted to an intense practice of pious actions.

The pious people like the Brāhmaṇas, the Śramaṇas, the adherents of other sects and house-holders etc., who live in that country and who practise virtues such as devotion and care of parents, elders and preceptors, proper courtesy to friends, relatives, slaves and servants, consider the injury or slaughter or deportation of their friends, acquaintances and relatives etc., as injury done to themselves, though they are themselves well provided for. There are persons devoted to some religious sect or other among the people. The killing, death or deportation of even one per hundred or thousand of the people in Kalinga² is considered by the Beloved of the Gods, to be deplorable.

He thinks that offences should be forgiven if it is possible. He entreats and urges, the forest-folk in his dominions (newly) conquered, in regard to their duty, to turn from evil ways even though he repents for the conquest and he has the power to punish them, so that they will not be killed for their crimes. The Beloved of the Gods wishes for all creatures, non-injury, restraint and impartiality with pleasure.

The Beloved of the Gods considers conquest through dharma as the best conquest. He has achieved it in his own dominions as well as in the territories beyond the borders as far away as six hundred *yōjanas*³ such as the kingdoms ruled by the Greek Antioka⁴, his

neighbours Turamāya, Antikini, Makā and Alikasudara, the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas in the south as far upto Tamraparṇi (i.e. Śrīlanka). People in the countries within his dominions such as Yavanas⁵ (Greek), Kāmbōjas,⁵ the Nābhakas⁶, the Nābhapanktis, Bhōjas, Paitryaṇikas, the Āndhras and the Pulindas, even where his messengers could not go, hear about his instructions and are practising *dharma*.

This conquest creates a sense of satisfaction among both the victors and the vanquished. But it is the happiness of the people in the next world, more than this satisfaction, that is required.

This is written here so that my sons and great-grandsons **should not think of conquest by arms**, that if they conquer people by arms they should treat them with forbearance and that they should consider **conquest through dharma** as the true conquest. This conquest brings happiness in this world and also in the next world. Let all their pleasures be associated with *dharma*. For this fetches happiness in both the worlds.

NOTES

1. Other versions have the following passage after this: नथि च से जानपदे अत नथि इमे निकाया अनप्ता योनसु वाभने समने च । meaning 'Excepting the country of Yavanas, there is no country where these two classes (Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas) do not exist'.

2. See note 1 above.

3. One *Yōjana* may measure about nine miles.

4. Antiochus II Theos (261-46 B.C.) of Western Asia; Turamāya-Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-47 B.C.) of Egypt; Antikini-Antigonas Gonatas (277-39 B.C.) of Macedonia; Maka-Magas (282-58 B.C.) of Cyrene in North Africa; Alikasudara-Alexander (272-55 B.C.) of Epirus or of Corinth (252-44 B.C.). For the rest see No. 9, note 8.

5. These two were residents of Ancient Afghanistan and Pakistan.

6. These were the names of people inhabiting areas in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh.

17. ROCK EDICT OF AŚŌKA—XIV

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-6 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock, Gīrnār, Junagadh District, Gujarat.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, pp. 25 ff. and plate.

TEXT

अयं धम्मलिपी देवानांपि(प्रि)येन पि(प्रि)यदसिना राज्ञा लेखापिता ।

अस्ति एव संखितेन अस्ति मज्झमेन अस्ति विस्ततन । न च सर्वं
सवत्तं घटितं । महालके हि विजितं बहु च लिखितं लिखापयिसं चेव ।
अस्ति च एतं कं पुन पुन वुत्तं तस तस अथस माधूरताय । किंति जनो तथा
पटिपजेथ । तत्र एकदा असमातं लिखितं अस देसं व सण्णाय-कारणं व
अलोचेप्ता(त्पा) लिपिकरापरधेन च ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

इयं धर्मलिपिः देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा लेखिता ।

अस्ति एव संक्षिप्तेन, अस्ति मध्यमेन, अस्ति विस्तृतेन । न च सर्वं
सर्वत्र घटितम् । महल्लकं हि विजितं, बहु च लिखितं, लेखयिष्यामि च
एव । अस्ति च अत्र कं पुनः पुनः उक्तं तस्य तस्य अर्थस्य मधुरतायै ।

किमिति?—जनः तथा प्रतिपद्येत । तत्र एकदा असमाप्तं लिखितं स्यात्,
देशं वा संक्षयकारणं वा आलोच्य, लिपिकारापराधेन वा ॥

SUMMARY

This record (in a series) on *dharma* is written by King Priyadarśi, Beloved of the Gods.

In this series texts are written variously, in concise¹ or medium² or elaborate forms³. All are not put together in each and every place⁴, since my dominions are wide; also more will come to be written.

Some topics have been repeated owing to their sweetness (usefulness)⁵—what for?—(so that) people may act accordingly. Sometimes texts are incomplete due to reasons like distance or time, abridgement⁶ or mistakes committed by the scribes.

NOTES

1. The Minor rock Edicts (Nos. 1-3) above and Pillar Edicts below (Nos. 28-35).
2. Edicts—Other than the ones specified in note 3.
3. Edicts—IX (No. 13), XIII (No. 16), Nos. 18 and 19.
4. The series at Dhauli and Jaugada (Orissa) do not contain Edicts XI-XIII occurring elsewhere. See note 1, No. 18.
5. This will be evident nearly throughout all the drafts.
6. Nos. 21 and 22.

18. ROCK EDICT FROM DHAULI¹

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-6 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Boulder, Dhauli, Puri District, Orissa.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, pp. 92 ff, and plate.

TEXT

देवानं पियस वचनेन तोसलियं महामात नगलवियोहालका वतविय ।

अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि किंति कंमन पट्टिपादयेहं दुवालते
च आलभेहं । एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाल एतसि अठसि अं तुफेसु अनुसथि ।
तुफे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसु आयत पनयं गछेम सु मुनिसानं ।

सवे मुनिसे पजा ममा । अथा पजाये इछामि हकं किंति सवेन हित-
सुखेन हिदलोकिक पाललोकिकेन यूजेवू ति तथा [सव*]मुनिसेसु पि
इछामि हकं । नो च पापुनाथ आव-गमुके इयं अठे । केछ व एकपुलिसे
[पापु*]नाति एतं से पि देसं नो सवं । देखत हि तुफे एतं सुविहिता पि ।

नितियं एकपुलिसे पि अथि ये बंधनं वा पलिकिलेसं वा पापुनाति ।
तत होति अकस्मा तेन बध्नंतिक अंने च [तत व*]हु जन दविये दुखीयति ।
तत इछितविये तुफेहि किंति मझं पट्टिपादयेमा ति । इमेहि चु जातेहि नो
संपटिपजति इसाय आसुलोपेन निठूलियेन तूलनाय अनावूतिय आलसियेन
किलमथेन । से इछितविये किंति एते जाता नो हुवेवु ममा ति । एतस च सवस

मूले अनासुलोपे अतूलना च । नितियं ए किलन्ते सिया न ते उगच्छ संचलित-
विये तु वटितविये एतविये वा । हेवंमेव ए दखेम तुफाक तेन वतविये आनं
ने देखत हेवं च हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसथि । से महाफले एतस संपटिपाद
महाअपाये असंपटिपति । विपटिपादयमीने हि एतं नथि स्वगस आलधि
नो लाजालधि । दुआहले हि इमस कंसस मे कुते मने अतिलेके । संपटि-
पजमीने चु एतं स्वगं आलाधयिसथ मम च आननियं एहथ ।

इयं च लिपि तिसनखतेन सोतविया । अंतला पि च तिसेन खनसि
खनसि एकेन पि सोतविय । हेवं च कलंतं तुफे चघथ संपटिपादयितवे ।

एताये अठाये इयं लिपि लिखित हिद एन नगल-वियोहालका सस्वतं
समयं यूजेवू ति [एन ज*]नस अकस्मा पलिवोधे च अकस्मा पलिकिलेसे
व नो सिया ति । एताये च अठाये हकं [महा*]मते पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु
निखामयिसामि ए अखखसे अचंडे सखिनालंभे होसति एतं अठं जानितु
[तं पि*] तथा कलन्ति अथ मम अनुसथी ति ।

उजेनिते पि चु कुमाले एताये व अठाये निखामयिस[ति अनुवासं*]
हेदिसमेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिनि वसानि । हेमेव तखसिलाते पि ।
अदा अ[नुवासं*] ते महामता निखमिसन्ति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु
अतने कंमं एतं पि जानिसन्ति तं पि तथा कलन्ति अथ लाजिने अनुसथी ति ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियस्य वचनेन तोसल्यां महामात्राः नगर-व्यवहारकाः
वक्तव्याः—यत् किञ्चित् द्रक्षामि (पश्यामि) अहं तत् इच्छामि-किमिति-
कर्मणा प्रतिपादये द्वारतः च आरभे । एतत् च मे मुख्यमतं द्वारम् एतस्मिन्
अर्थे यत् युष्मासु अनुशस्तिः । यूयं हि बहुषु प्राणसहस्रेषु आयताः प्रणयं
गच्छेम स्वित् मनुष्याणाम् ।

सर्वः मनुष्यः प्रजा मम । यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि अहं-किमिति?
सर्वेण हितसुखेन ऐहलौकिक-पारलौकिकेन युज्येरन् इति, तथा सर्वमनुष्येषु

अपि इच्छामि अहम् । नो च प्राप्नुथ यावद्गमकः अयम् अर्थः । कश्चित् वा एकपुरुषः प्राप्नोति एतम्; सः अपि देशं नो सर्वम् । पश्यत हि यूयम् एतत् सुविहिताः अपि ।

नीत्याम् एकपुरुषः अपि अस्ति, यः बन्धनं वा परिक्लेशं वा प्राप्नोति । तत्र भवति अकस्मात् तेन बन्धनान्तकम् । अन्यः च तत्र बहुः जनः दवीयः दुःखायते । ततः एष्टव्यं युष्माभिः—किमिति?—“मध्यं प्रतिपादयेमहि” इति । एभिः च तु जातैः नो संप्रतिपद्यते-ईर्ष्या, आशुलोपेन, नैष्ठुर्येण त्वरणया, अनावृत्या, आलस्येन, क्लमथेन [च] ।

तत् एष्टव्यं-किमिति?—“एतानि जातानि नो भवेयुः मम” इति । एतस्य च सर्वस्य मूलम् अनाशुलोपः अत्वरणा [च] । नीत्यां यः क्लान्तः स्यात् न सः उद्गच्छेत् [तत्] सञ्चलितव्यं तु वर्तितव्यम्, एतव्यम् एव । एवम् एव यः पश्येत् युष्मभ्यं तेन वक्तव्यं “अन्यत् न पश्यत । एवं च एवं च देवानांप्रियस्य अनुशस्तिः” । तत् महाफलः एतस्य सम्प्रतिपादः महापाया असंप्रतिपत्तिः । विप्रतिपाद्यमाने हि एतस्मिन् न अस्ति स्वर्गस्य आराद्धिः नो राजाराद्धिः । द्व्याहरः हि अस्य कर्मणः, मे कुतः मनोऽतिरेकः वृद्धिः? सम्प्रतिपद्यमाने च तु एतस्मिन्, स्वर्गम् आराधयिष्यथ, मम च आनृण्यम् एष्यथ । इयं च लिपिः तिष्यनक्षत्रेण श्रोतव्या । अन्तरा अपि च तिष्यं क्षणे क्षणे एकेन अपि श्रोतव्या । एवं च कुर्वन्तः यूयं जागृत सम्प्रतिपादपयितुम् । एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं लिपिः लिखिता इह, येन नगरव्यवहारकाः शाश्वतं समयं युञ्ज्युः इति, येन जनस्य अकस्मात् परिवोधः वा अकस्मात् परिक्लेशः वा न स्यात् इति । एतस्मै च अर्थाय अहं महामात्रं पञ्चसु पञ्चसु वर्षेषु निष्क्रामयिष्यामि—यः अकर्कशः अचण्डः सक्षीणारंभः भविष्यति—“एतत् अर्थं ज्ञात्वा तथा कुर्वन्ति यथा मम अनुशस्तिः? इति । उज्जयिनीतः अपि च तु कुमारः एतस्मै एव अर्थाय निष्क्रामयिष्यति अनुवर्षम् ईदृशम् एव वर्गं, नो च अतिक्रामयिष्यति त्रीणि वर्षाणि । एवमेव तक्षशिलातः अपि । यदा अनुवर्षं ते महामात्राः

निष्क्रमिष्यन्ति अनुसंयानाय, तदा अहित्वा आत्मनः कर्म, एतत् अपि ज्ञास्यन्ति “तत् अपि तथा कुर्वन्ति यथा राज्ञः अनुशस्तिः” इति ॥

SUMMARY

The *Mahāmātras* of Tōsali,² (and) the Judicial officers of the city³ must be told as follows, in the words of the Beloved of the Gods:

I would like to carry out whatever is good by deeds and by proper means. I wish to impart the following instructions to you towards this end. You are placed high over many thousands of living beings so that I may gain their affection.

All men are my children. I desire that they, even as my own children, should be provided with all kinds of welfare and happiness in this world and also in the next. You do not understand how far this desire of mine goes. Some of you understand this only partly and not fully. You should pay your attention to it, however well-placed you may be.

It sometimes happens in the administration of justice that some persons suffer imprisonment or harsh treatment. In some cases the imprisonment may be cancelled. In some other cases it may continue making many people suffer for long. You should think—What?—“We will act impartially”. An officer is likely to fail in his impartiality owing to jealousy, anger, cruelty, hastiness, want of perseverance, laziness, and fatigue. You should think—What?—“these shall not be my dispositions”.

The roots of all this (administration of justice) are absence of anger and avoidance of hastiness. In respect of administration of justice an officer does not get up for work if he is fatigued. But he has to move and perform (his duties). Whoever among you realises this should tell others:

“Do not look to other things; such and such are the instructions of the Beloved of the Gods”.

The observance of this brings better results and its non-observance results in great harm. How can indifferent observance of this

on your part make me enthusiastic? If you perform your duty well, not only you will attain heaven, but you will be discharging your debt to me.

All of you should listen to the reading of this order on the day of Tishya⁴ constellation and also on other days. If you do so, you will be awakened and will be able to act on it.

This is written so that judicial officers will see at all times that people do not suffer from either unnecessary imprisonment or harassment. I will ask, the Mahāmātras to be neither harsh nor severe but to be gentle in action and to go out on tours of inspection, every five years to see that my object is achieved.

So also the Prince (Viceroy) from Ujjayini⁵ will send officers for the same purpose. Officers should be deputed from Takshaśilā⁶ also.

When these Mahāmātras go out on tours of inspection every year⁷ without giving up their own duties, they will ascertain whether they (the local judicial officers) are acting to the king's instructions.

NOTES

1. Two rock edicts are found both at Dhauli and at Jaugaḍa (No. 19) in Orissa (ancient Kalinga) in the place of Edicts XI, XII and XIII which are not found there. See Rock Edict XIV (No. 17), note 4.

2. Tōsali is the same as Dhauli, the findspot of the inscription.

3. The distinction between the two sets of officers is not made so clear as, later on in the text, they are mentioned separately, implying that *Mahāmātras* are higher officers.

4. Tishya, also called Pushya, was probably the natal star of Aśōka himself.

5. Ujjaini (Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh) was the headquarters of a prince whose name is not known. However *Kumāra* (Prince) Saṁbha (Sāmba) is mentioned in an inscription (No. 2 above) from Pāngurārīā in Sehore District in Madhya Pradesh. It is possible that he was the *Kumāra* referred to here. The other rock edict at Dhauli refers to a prince at Tōsali.

6. This is Taxila in Rawalpindi district in Pakistan.

7. The *Mahāmātras* were required at first to tour once in every five years for the purpose of executing the king's orders in this matter. Later on in their normal annual tours also they were required to ascertain.

19. ROCK EDICT FROM JAUGAḌA¹

<i>Date</i>	.. 257-6 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Boulder, Jaugaḍa, Ganjam District, Orissa.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, pp. 115 ff. and plate.

TEXT

देवानंपिये हेवं आह समापायं महामता लाजवचनिक वतविया अं
किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि हकं किति कं कमन पटिपातयेहं दुवालते च
आलभेहं । एस च मे मोखियमत दुवाल एतस अथस अं तुफेसु अनुसथि ।
सवमुनिसा मे पजा । अथ पजाये इछामि किति मे सवेणा हितसुखेन युजेयू²
अथ पजाये इछामि किति मे सवेन हितसुखेन युजेयू ति हिदलोगिक-पाल-
लोकिकेण हेवंमेव मे इछ सवमुनिसेसु । सिया अंतानं अविजितानं किं-छांदे
सु लाजा अफेसू ति । एताका वा मे इछ अंतेसु पापुनेयु लाजा हेवं इछति
अनुविगिन ह्वेयू ममियाये अस्वसेयु च मे सुखंमेव च लहेयू ममते नो
[दु*]खं । हेवं च पापुनेयु खमिसति ने लाजा ए सकिये खमितवे ममं
निमित्तं च धमं चलेयू ति हिदलोगं च पललोग च आलाधयेयू । एताये च
अठाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि अनने एतकेन हकं तुफेनि अनुसासितु छंदं
च वेदितु आ मम धिति पटिना च अचल । स हेवं कटू कंमे चलितविये
अस्वासनिया च ते एन ते पापुनेयु अथा पित हेवं ने लाजा ति अथ अतानं
अनुकंपति हेवं अफेनि अनुकंपति अथा पजा हेवं मये लाजिने । तुफेनि

हकं अनुसासित छांदं च वेदित आ मम धिति पटिना चा अचल सकलदेसा-
 आयुतिके होसामी एतसि अथसि । अलं हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितसुखाये
 च तेसं हिदलोगिक-पाललोकिकाये । हेवं च कलंतं स्वगं च आलाधयिसथ
 मम च आननेयं एसथ । एताये च अथाये इयं लिपी लिखित हिद एन
 महामाता सास्वतं समं युजेयू अस्वासनाये च धंम-चलनाये च अंतानं ।
 इयं च लिपी अनुचातुंमासं सोतविया तिसेन । अंतला पि च सोतविया ।
 खने संतं एकेन पि सोतविया । हेवं च कलंतं चघथ संपटिपातयितवे ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियः एवम् आह । समापायां महामाताः राजवाचनिकं
 वक्तव्याः—

यत् किञ्चित् पश्यामि अहं तत् इच्छामि अहं—किमिति?—कं
 कर्मणा प्रतिपादये, द्वारतः च आरभे । एतत् च मे मुख्यमतं द्वारम् एतस्य
 अर्थस्य यत् युष्मासु अनुशस्तिः । सर्वमनुष्याः मे प्रजा । यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि
 —किमिति?—मया सर्वेण हितसुखेन युज्येरन् इति ऐहलौकिक-पारलौ-
 किकेन, एवम् एव मे इच्छा सर्वमनुष्येषु । स्यात् अन्तानाम् अविजिता-
 नाम् किं-छन्दः स्वित् राजा अस्मासु ? इति । एतकाः वा मे इच्छाः अन्तेषु
 प्राप्नुयुः-राजा एवम् इच्छति—“अनुद्विग्नाः भवेयुः मया आश्वस्युः च मया,
 सुखम् एव च लभेरन् मत्तः नो दुःखम् ”; एवं च प्राप्नुयुः—“क्षमिष्यते
 नः राजा यत् शक्यं क्षन्तुम् ”; मम निमित्तं च धर्मं चरेयुः इति ; इहलोकं
 च परलोकं च आराधयेयुः [इति] । एतस्मै च अर्थाय अहं युष्मान् अनु-
 शास्मि—अनृणः एतकेन अहं—युष्मान् अनुशिष्य छन्दं च वेदयित्वा, या,
 मम धृतिः प्रतिज्ञा च अचला । तत् एवं कृत्वा कर्म चरितव्यम्, आश्वा-
 सनीयाः च ते, येन ते प्राप्नुयुः—“यथा पिता एवं नः राजा ” इति ; यथा
 आत्मानम् अनुकम्पते एवम् अस्मान् अनुकम्पते ; यथा प्रजा एवं वयं
 राज्ञः ” [इति] । युष्मान् अहम् अनुशिष्य, छन्दं च वेदयित्वा, या मम धृतिः

प्रतिज्ञा च अचला—सकलदेशावृत्तिकः भविष्यामि एतस्मिन् अर्थे । अलं हि यूयम् आश्वासनाय हितसुखाय च तेषाम् ऐहलौकिकपारलौकिकाय । एवम् च कुर्वन्तः स्वर्गम् च आराधयिष्यथ मम च आनृण्यम् एष्यथ । एतस्मै च अर्थाय इयं लिपिः लिखिता इह, येन महामात्राः शाश्वतं समयं युञ्ज्युः आश्वासनाय च धर्मचरणाय च अन्तानाम् । इयं च लिपिः अनुचातुर्मासं श्रोतव्या तिष्येण । अन्तरा अपि च श्रोतव्या । क्षणे सति एकेन अपि श्रोतव्या । एवं च कुर्वन्तः जागृत संप्रतिपादयितुम् ॥

SUMMARY

The Beloved of the Gods says thus:

The following royal order is addressed to the Mahāmātras stationed at Samāpā³:

I would like to carry out whatever is good by deeds and by proper means. I wish to impart the following instructions to you towards this end. You are placed high over many thousands of living beings so that I may gain their affection.

All men are my children. I desire that they, even as my own children, should be provided with all kinds of welfare and happiness in this world and also in the next.

The people of the unconquered territories beyond the borders of my dominions may ask 'What is this king's desire in respect of us?' I wish them to realise that they should not worry about the king; they shall expect, with confidence only happiness and no misery from him; also they must know that the king will forgive them in respect of any offence which is pardonable and that they should practice *dharma* and attain happiness in this world and the next.

I thus instruct you (*Mahāmātras*) about my resolution and firm vow in order to free myself from the debt I owe to those people. You should inspire them regarding my intentions and sympathies and perform your duties by acting accordingly; they should think of me as their father and that he sympathises with us as with himself and that they are to the king even as his own children.

Having apprised you of my resolution and firm vow I feel that my appeal to you will be known to the people of the whole country. You are indeed capable of inspiring them with confidence and enabling them to secure their welfare and happiness in this world and in the next. Thereby you will attain heaven, and in the process, will discharge the debt you owe to me. This record is written for this purpose, namely that the Mahāmātras should strive at all times to inspire the people on the borders of my dominions with confidence and to make them practise *dharma*.

All of you should listen to this record read out on every Chāturmāsī day⁴ and also on the day of Tishya constellation.⁵ You may listen to it on other days and on appropriate occasions also. By doing so you will perform your duties well.

NOTES

1. See note 1 on the preceding inscription. The Dhauli version (No. 18) of this Edict refers in this passage to a Prince at Tōsalī. See note 5 on the same inscription.

2. The passage अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेन हितमुखेन युजेयु has been repeated by mistake.

3. This was probably the name of a city near the Jaugaḍa hill in Ganjam District.

4. This is the last day of every fourth month i.e., the full-moon day of the months of Āshāḍha, Kārttika and Phālguna, regarded as an auspicious day.

5. For Tishya see note 4 of the preceding inscription.

20. KANDAHAR EDICT OF AŚŌKA

<i>Date</i>	.. C. 257-6 B.C.
<i>Script and</i>	.. Greek ¹
<i>Language</i>	..
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Block of stone at Kandahar, Afghanistan, now in the Afghan National Museum, Kabul.
<i>Reference</i>	.. D. Schlumberger, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXVII, pp. 194-5 and plate.

SUMMARY²

King **Priyadarśi**, does not value the offering of the gifts or the honouring of people so highly as the following, viz., *dharma* and self-control among all schools (i.e. among the people of all religious sects). One can keep self-control best when one controls one's tongue. And let them not extol themselves (i.e. their own sects) and disparage others (i.e. other sects) on any account. For this is conceit and it is better to try to extol other (sects) and not to disparage them in any manner. By doing this, they become greater and gain the good will of others. Those who extol themselves (i.e. their own sects) disparage other (sects) evince inordinate pride; by wanting to shine more than others, they rather harm themselves. It is advisable to respect one another mutually and, for every one, to accept the lessons of others. By doing this, they will increase their knowledge by passing on mutually what every one of them knows. Let there be no hesitation about telling this to those who put this into practice, so that they may persist always in *dharma*.

In the eighth year of his reign Priyadarśi (i.e. Aśoka) conquered Kalinga. One hundred and fifty thousand persons were captured there and deported from there, one hundred thousand others were killed and almost as many perished. Since that time, *dharma* and compassion gripped him and he was overwhelmed by that. Just as he prescribed to abstain from living beings, he established zeal in the organisation for *dharma*. And, behold, what the king was still more afflicted by (or, this also the king felt with great sorrow); all those who inhabited there (i.e. in Kalinga), the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas or other followers of *dharma* as well—those who inhabited there had to be concerned about the interests of the king, to revere and respect their teacher, their father and mother, to love and not to deceive their friends and companions, and to treat their slaves and servants as mildly as possible (or, with the utmost kindness possible)—if, from among those who were behaving there like that, one was dead or deported, other people are also indirectly affected by this, and the king is extremely afflicted by it. And, as with the other peoples, there is (no place in the country where men are not indeed sincerely devoted to one sect or the other.....)

NOTES

1. Aśoka had got engraved condensed versions of his Prākṛit edicts in local languages like Greek and Aramic in his dominions where they would be understood better. (See Nos. 21, 22 below.) This record is fragmentary. Texts in languages other than Sanskrit and Prākṛit are not given.

2. This is a condensed version of the Rock Edicts of Aśoka XII and XIII (Nos. 15 and 16) though this is fragmentary. See Rock Edict XIV (No. 17). where reference is made to the preparation and the engraving of such versions.

21. LAGHMAN EDICT OF AŚŌKA—I

<i>Date</i>	.. 256 B.C.
<i>Script and</i>	.. Aramaic ¹
<i>Language</i>	.. „
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone slab on the ridge locally called Sultan Baba on the eastern bank of Laghman river, Laghman District, Afghanistan.
<i>Reference</i>	.. B.N. Mukherjee, <i>Studies in The Aramaic Edicts of Aśōka</i> , pp. 9-12 and plate.

SUMMARY

In the year 16, King **Priyadarśi**, expelled from the prosperous population, people who love hunting of fishes and creatures and also people who indulge in worthless work.²

This mountain Tdmr is 300 bows³ (from) the road called Krpty (*Kārapatha*=royal road). The garden is 120 bows (from this mountain). A place called Trt (cowpen) is 180 bows (from the mountain).⁴

With the (approval of) judge **Vasu** (W'su).

NOTES

1. See No. 22 below which contains an edict in Greek language and script which was locally understood. Aramaic is the name of both the language and the script.

2. Compare the contents of this section with Nos. 5 and 32.

3. *Manusāhita* takes the term *dhanus* (bow) as a measure of length equal to 4 hastas i.e. 72 inches.

4. The relevance of this section to the previous section is not at all clear. It is possible that the two sections were not engraved at the same time. See also No. 22 below.

22. LAGHMAN EDICT OF AŚŌKA—II

<i>Date</i>	.. 256 B.C.
<i>Script and</i>	.. Aramaic ¹
<i>Language</i>	.. „
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock on the ridge called Sam Baba 2 kms from site of the edict—I, Laghman District, Afghanistan.
<i>Reference</i>	.. B.N. Mukherjee, <i>Studies in The Aramaic Edicts of Aśōka</i> , pp, 12-14 and plate.

SUMMARY

In the month of Elul² of the year 16 King **Priyadarśi** expelled from the prosperous population, the people who love hunting of fishes and creatures and who indulge in worthless work³.

This mountain Twty is 500 bows⁴ from the road called Krpty (*Kārapatha*=royal road). The garden is 300 bows (from this mountain). Trt (cowpen) is 213 bows.

The scribe . . . with (the approval of) the judge **Vasu** (W'su), (under the orders of) governor **Vakshu** (Wḥsu) the author of this pious work and the officer settling guilt and punishment.

NOTES

1. See No. 21 above, note 1.
 2. Elul (Ululu) is said to correspond roughly to August-September.
 3. See No. 21 above, note 2.
 4. *ibid.*, note 3.
-

23. SHAR-I-KUNA EDICT OF AŚŌKA

<i>Date</i>	.. 256 B.C.
<i>Script and</i>	.. Greek and Aramaic
<i>Language</i>	.. „
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock in the mountain near Shar-i-Kuna, west of Kandahar, Afghanistan.
<i>Reference</i>	.. J. Filliozat, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXIV, pp. 1-8 and plate.

SUMMARY ¹

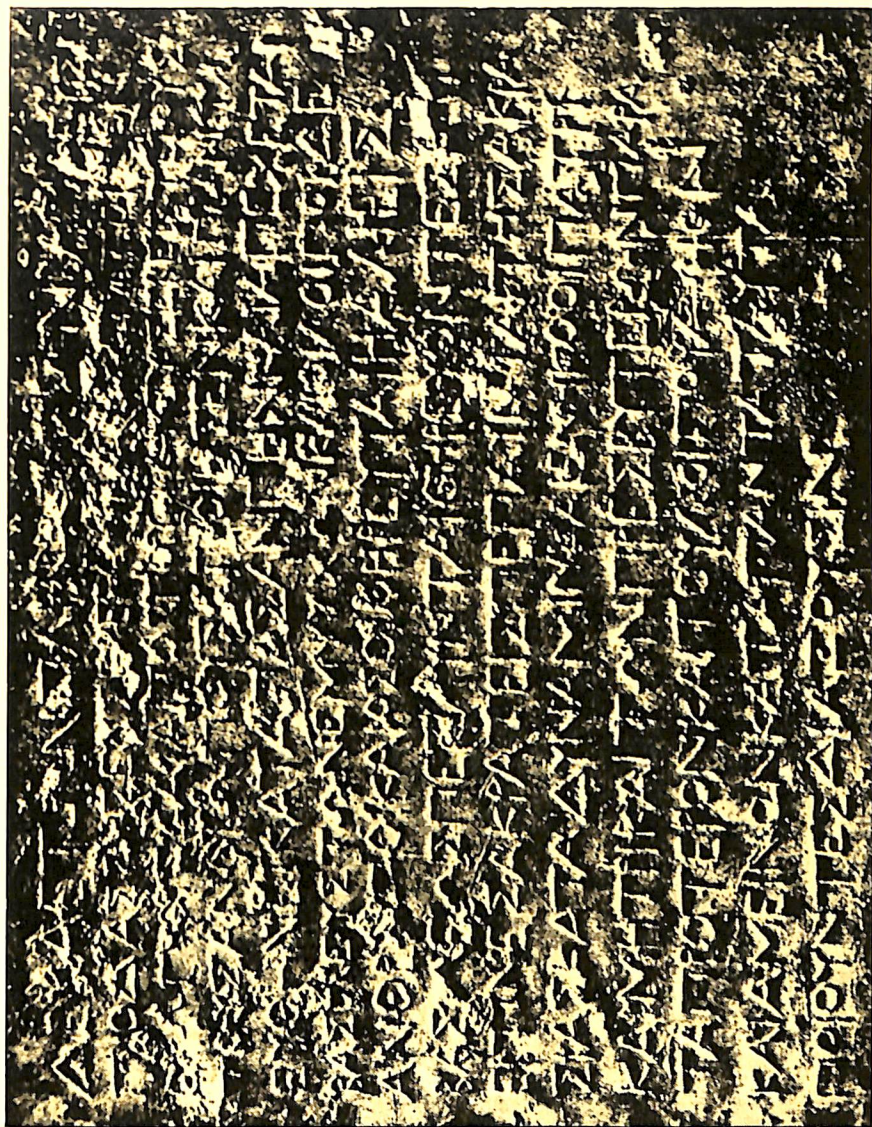
Ten years (since the consecration) having been completed our lord² King **Priyadarśi** proclaimed Piety (Truth)³ to people. Evil has diminished and men are more pious. Happiness thrives throughout the world. No animal or bird is killed for feeding the king and people have also given up the same. Hunters and fishermen have stopped killing. Men have ceased to be intemperate. They are obedient to the parents and elders, unlike in the past, as destiny has laid down on everyone. They will continue to be so in the future and live better and more happily.

NOTES

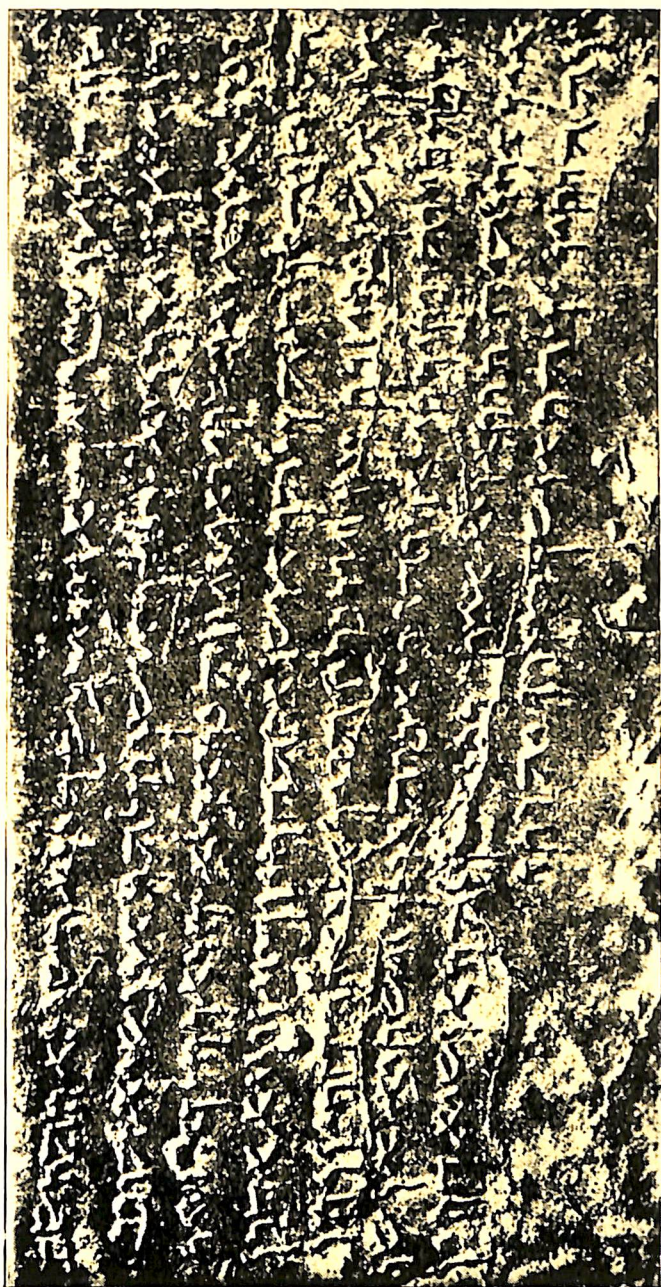
1. This summary is prepared out of the summaries of both the versions since the subject matter is the same. See note 3.

2. The reference to 'our lord' implies significantly that the region around the findspot of the inscription was included in Aśōka's empire. The Greek and the Aramaic languages were apparently better understood in the area.

3. There are minor differences between the two versions in Greek and Aramaic, each being a free translation of an edict in Prākṛit drawn up for propagation in this distant province of his empire. The most important of the differences is the mention of 'Truth' in place of 'Piety' in the Aramaic version.



No. 23 (Greek)



No. 23 (Aramaic)

24. CAVE INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚŌKA

<i>Date</i>	.. 257 and 250 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Barabar hills, Gaya District, Bihar.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>C.I.I.</i> , I, pp. 181 ff. and plate.

TEXT

I

लाजिना पियदसिना दुवाडस-वसाभिसितेन [इयं] निगोह-कुभा
दिना आजीविकेहि ॥

II

लाजिना पियदसिना दुवडस-वसाभिसितेन इयं कुभा खलतिक-
पवतसि दिना आजीविकेहि ॥

III

लाजा पियदसी एकुनवीसति-वसाभिसिते जलघोसागमे थातवे इयं
कुभा सुपिये (य) खलतिकपवसि दिना ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

I

राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन इयं न्यग्रोधगुहा दत्ता
आजीविकेभ्यः ॥

II

राजा प्रियदर्शिना द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन इयं गुहा खलतिकपर्वते
दत्ता आजीविकेभ्यः ॥

III

राजा प्रियदर्शी एकोनविंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तः जलघोषागमे स्थातवे
(i.e., स्थातुं) इयं गुहा सुप्रियः इति खलतिकपर्वते दत्ता ॥

SUMMARY

King **Priyadarśi** (**Aśōka**) gave unto the *Ājīvikas*¹ this cave called *Nyagrōdha* in his 12th regnal year and another (name not given) in the *Khalatika*² hill in the same year.

He gave in his 19th regnal year the cave *Supriya* in the same hill for (their) use in the rainy season.

NOTES

1. The *Ājīvika* sect consisted of the followers of *Makkhali Gōsāla*, who followed special rules regarding livelihood. *Aśōka*, an adherent of Buddhism, had these caves excavated for the benefit of these Jaina monks.

2. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* under *Pāṇini*, I, 2.52. This hill is called *Pravaragiri* in an inscription of *Maukhari Anantavarman*.

25. RUMMINDEĪ¹ PILLAR INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 249 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Rummindeī Temple near Parariyā, Nepalese Tarāi
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , p. 164 and plate.

TEXT

देवानपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन वीसतिवसाभिसितेन अतन आगाच
महीयिते हिद बुधे जाते सक्य-मुनी ति । सिला-विगढ-भीचा कालापित
सिला-थभे च उसपापिते । हिद भगवं जाते ति लुंमिनि-गामे उबलिके कटे
अठ-भागिये च ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन आत्मना
आगत्य महीयितं, इह बुद्धः जातः शाक्यमुनिः इति, शिलाविकृतभित्तिकाः
कारिताः, शिलास्तम्भः च उत्सर्पितः । इह भगवान् जातः इति लुम्बिनी-
ग्रामः उद्वलिकः कृतः, आष्टभागिकः च ॥

SUMMARY

Twenty years after his coronation, King **Priyadarśi**, Beloved of the Gods, visited this spot and offered worship as the Buddha, the

sage of the Śākya² was born here. He got a stone wall built around and also erected a stone pillar.³

Because the supreme Buddha was born here, he made the village Lumbinī free from taxes and subject to pay (only) one-eighth of the produce⁴ (as land revenue).

NOTES

1. This place lies 4 miles inside the Nepalese border near Padara. Buddha was born here in c. 563 B.C.

2. The Śākya claimed to belong to the solar race and Ikshvāku family and hence to have hailed from Kōsala. Their state lay between the Himalayas in the north, the river Rōhiṇī in the east, the river Rāptī in the west and the south. Their capital city was Kapilavastu (Piprahwa). See No. 39 below.

3. The sandstone pillar has a shaft of more than 30 feet height and about 30 tons in weight. The tapering shaft has a bell shaped moulding surmounted by a thick circular abacus which has a lion sitting on its haunches. The famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang refers to this pillar, but with a horse capital.

4. One-sixth of the produce is known to be the normal rate of land revenue in ancient times (Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 58).

26. NIGĀLĪ SĀGAR PILLAR INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 249 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar, west bank of the Nigālī Sāgar tank near Nigliva, Nepalese Tarāi
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsck, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, p. 165 and plate.

TEXT

देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिन लाजिन चोदसवसाभिसितेन बुधस कोना-
कमनस थुवे दुतियं वद्धिते । [वीसतिव*]साभिसितेन च अतन आगाच
महीयिते [सिलाथभे च उस*]पापिते ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा चतुर्दशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन बुद्धस्य
कनकमुनेः स्तूपः द्वितीयं वर्द्धितः । विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन च आत्मना
आगत्य महीयितं, शिलास्तम्भः च उत्सर्पितः ॥

SUMMARY

King Priyadarśi, Beloved of the Gods, enlarged the stūpa¹ of the
Buddha Kanakamuni² to double its size, fourteen years after his
coronation.

He visited (the spot) twenty years after his coronation, offered worship and also got this stone pillar erected.

NOTES

1. *Stūpa* is a technical name of a type of Buddhist monument, generally a memorial building with (or without) the relics of Buddha. This building will have a circular railing around, with arched gateways at four points. Inside is built a semispherical dome.

A stone slab excavated at Śālihuṇḍam in Andhra Pradesh bears a label in Prākṛit *Dhammarāṇo Aśōkasirinō* (Sanskrit: *Dharmarājasya Aśōkaśriyaḥ*) in Brāhmi script of the 2nd century A.D. points probably to a traditional belief that the (memorial) Buddhist structure was built by Aśōka (see A.S. Gadre, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 87-88 and plate).

2. Kanakamuni, whose relics were enshrined in this *stūpa*, was one who attained the knowledge necessary for final emancipation but did not preach it. He lived before Gautama Buddha. His *stūpa*, a centre of pilgrimage, was visited by Hiuen-tsang who noticed the pillar with this inscription.

27. MINOR PILLAR EDICT OF AŚŌKA

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 249 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Sārṇāth, Varanasi Dist., U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, pp. 161 f.

TEXT

देवा[नंपिये*]

एल
पाट ये केन पि संघे भेतवे । ए चुं खो भिखू
वा भिखुनि वा संघं भाखति से ओदातानि दुसानि संनंधापयिया आना-
वाससि आवासयिये । हेवं इयं सासने भिखु संघसि च भिखुनि-संघसि
च विनपयितविये । हेवं देवानंपिये आहा ।

हेदिसा च इका लिपी तुफाकंतिकं हुवा ति संसलनसि निखिता ।
इकं च लिपि हेदिसमेव उपासकानंतिकं निखिपाथ । ते पि च उपासका
अनुपोसथं यावु एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे । अनुपोसथं च धुवाये इकिके
महामाते पोसथाये याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे आजानितवे च ।
आवते च तुफाकं आहाले सवत विवासयाथ तुफे एतेन वियंजनेन ।
हेमेव सवेसु, कोट-विषवेसु एतेन वियंजनेन विवासापयाथा ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियः

पाटलिपुत्रे [तथा कर्तव्यं, येन न] शक्यः केन अपि सङ्घः
भेत्तुम् । यः तु खलु भिक्षुः वा भिक्षुणी वा संघं भङ्गयति, सः अवदातानि
दूष्यानि सन्निधाप्य अनावसे आवास्यः । एवं इदं शासनं भिक्षु-सङ्घे च
भिक्षुणीसङ्घे च विज्ञापयितव्यम् । एवं देवानांप्रियः आह । ईदृशी च एका
लिपिः युष्माकम् अन्तिके भूयात् इति संसरणे निक्षिप्ता ; एकां च लिपिम्
ईदृशीम् एव उपासकानाम् अन्तिके निक्षिपथ । ते अपि च उपासकाः,
अनूपवसथं यायुः एतत् एव शासनं विश्वासयितुम् । अनूपवसथं च ध्रुवायाः
एकैकः महामात्रः उपवसथाय याति एतत् एव शासनं विश्वासयितुम् आज्ञप्तुं
च । यावत्कं च युष्माकम् आहारः सर्वत्र विवासयत यूयम् एतेन व्यञ्ज-
नेन । एवम् एव सर्वेषु कोट्ट-विषयेषु एतेन व्यञ्जनेन विवासयथ ॥

SUMMARY

The Beloved of the Gods says as follows:¹

Pāṭaliputra

You should act in such a manner that no one will be able to divide the council (Saṅgha). Any one, monk or nun, whoever does it, should be compelled to put on white robes and to be sent to a place unfit for a recluse. This order should be communicated to councils of both monks and nuns.

One copy of this order is deposited in your office, so that it will be available to you. Another copy also should be made available to all the lay followers, who along with Mahāmātras, will gather on the days of fasting² and get inspired by (reading or listening to) this

edict. You as well as your subordinates, should also set out on tour to all the places including fortified towns and convey this message.³

NOTES

1. There is a gap (damaged) after this, the contents of which are conjectured by Sircar (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 73, note 1), to be as follows: This order was addressed to the Mahāmātras of Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna, Bihar) and it was made available to monks and nuns, to lay worshippers, to officers and to the people of the district and sub-divisions.

2. These are generally the full-moon day, the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight and the eight days of the bright and dark fortnights. It is to the Buddhists a day of religious observance and abstinence from sensual enjoyments. See note 4 on Rock edict from Jaugaḍa (No. 19).

3. There are three versions of this edict engraved on pillars at three different places. Besides this one, the other two are at Allahabad-Kosam and Sanchi. The present one contains an additional passage (the last paragraph). The Allahabad-Kosam version has an additional passage which is given in No. 35 separately as it refers to his second queen Chāruvākī and her son Tivara.

28. PILLAR EDICT OF AŚŌKA—I¹

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 243-42 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Fīrūz Shāh's Kotlā, Delhi, Originally from Toprā, Ambālā Dist., Punjab.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, p. 119 and plate.

TEXT

देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा । सङ्वीसतिवस अभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता । हिदत-पालते दुसंपटिपादये अनंत अगाया धंमकामताया अगाय पलीखाया अगाय सुसूसाया अगेन भयेना अगेन उसाहेना । एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया धंमापेखा धंमकामता चा सुवे सुवे वढिता वढीसति चेवा । पुलिसा पि च मे उकसा चा गेवया चा माझिमा चा अनुविधीयंती संपटिपादयति चा अलं च पलं समादपयितवे । हेमेवा अंतमहामाता पि । एस हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखियना धंमेन गोती ति ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह । षड्विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता । ऐह्यपारत्रं दुःसंप्रतिपाद्यं अन्यत्र अग्रायाः धर्मकामतायाः, अग्रायाः परीक्षायाः, अग्रायाः शुश्रूषायाः, अग्रात् भयात्, अग्रात् उत्साहात् । एषा च तु खलु मम अनुशस्त्याः धर्मपिक्षा धर्मकामता च

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श्वः श्वः वर्द्धिता वर्द्धिष्यते च एव । पुरुषाः अपि च मे उत्कर्षाः च गेवकाः च
मध्यमाः च अनुविदधति, संप्रतिपादयन्ति च, अलं च परं समादापयितुम् ।
एवम् एव अन्तमहामात्राः अपि । एषा हि विधिः, या इयं धर्मेण पालना,
धर्मेण विधानं, धर्मेण सुखना, धर्मेण गुप्तिः इति ॥

SUMMARY

King Priyadarśi, Beloved of the Gods says as follows:

This record on *dharma* is written twenty-six years after my coronation.

Happiness in this world and the other, cannot be attained without intense desire for *dharma*, rigorous self-introspection, devoted service (to elders), great fear (of sin) and excessive enthusiasm. Owing to my exhortation this love of *dharma* and desire to practise *dharma* is growing day by day and will also continue to grow. Men (officers) of higher, lower or middle rank follow and stir others also to follow (the rules of *dharma*). Mahāmātras of bordering regions are also doing the same. These indeed are the rules; to govern according to *dharma*, to administer (justice) by *dharma*, to cause happiness through *dharma* and to afford security through *dharma*.

NOTE

1. See Minor Edicts of Aśoka-I (No.2) where it is stated that Aśoka's edicts are to be engraved on rocks and pillars wherever they are. A set of six edicts are found on pillars at Toprā (now in Delhi), Mīraṭh (U.P.), Allahabad-Kosam (U.P.), Rādhiah (Lauria-Ararāj), Mathiah (Lauriyā-Nandangarh) and Rāmpurvā in Bihar. An additional edict also is found only on the pillar at Delhi (Toprā)—No. 34 below. A fragment of what seems to be a new pillar edict was discovered at Amarāvati, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh (see Sircar, *Aśokan Studies*, pp. 118-22).

29. PILLAR EDICT OF AŚŌKA—II

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 243-42 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Firūz Shāh's Kōṭlā, Delhi. Originally from Toprā, Ambālā Dist., Punjab.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, p. 120 and plate.

TEXT

... देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा । धंमे साधू । कियं च धंमे ति । अपासिनवे बहु-कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये । चखु-दाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने । दुपदचतुपदेसु पखि-वाल्लिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पान-दाखिनाये । अन्नानि पि च मे वहूनि कयानानि कटानि । एताये मे अठाये इयं धम्म-लिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलंथितिका च होतू ती ति । ये च हेवं संपटिपजीसति से सुकटं कं छती ति ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह । “धर्मः साधुः । कियान् च तु धर्मः इति? अल्पास्नवं, बहुकल्याणं, दया, दानं, सत्यं, शौचकं [च] । चक्षुर्दानम् अपि मया बहुविधं दत्तम् । द्विपदचतुष्पदेषु पक्षि-वारिचरेषु विविधः मया अनुग्रहः कृतः आ प्राण-दाक्षिण्यात् । अन्यानि अपि च मया

बहूनि कल्याणानि कृतानि । एतस्मै मया अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता-
एवं अनुप्रपद्यन्तां चिरस्थितिका च भवतु इति । यः च एवं संप्रतिपत्स्यते
सः सुकृतं करिष्यति ” इति ॥

SUMMARY

King Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the Gods, says as follows:

The practice of *dharma* is good. What is *dharma*? The least sinfulness, (works of) welfare for many people, compassion, charity, truthfulness and purity.

I have bestowed eye-sight in many ways¹ ! I have favoured variously bipeds and quadrupeds as well as birds and aquatic animals, including grant of life.² Many other works of welfare have been done by me.

This is written (on stone) so that it is longstanding and people may follow. Whoever does it, will be doing good things.

NOTES

1. This is interpreted as 'spiritual insight' by other scholars, while D.C. Sircar considers this as the retention of eyesight in the case of criminals condemned for being blinded by courts of law.

2. See Rock Edict—II (No. 6) for the medical treatment of animals. See also Pillar Edict—V (No. 32).

30. PILLAR EDICT OF AŚŌKA—III

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 243-42 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Toprā, Ambālā District, Punjab, now Firūz Shāh's Kōṭlā, Delhi,
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsck, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, p. 121 and plate.

TEXT

देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा । कयानमेव देखति इयं मे
कयाने कटे ति । नो मिन पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे
नामा ति । दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा । हेवं चु खो एस देखिये । इमानि
आसिनवगामिनि नाम अथ चंडिये निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्या कालनेन व
हकं मा पलिभसयिसं । एस वाढ देखिये इयं मे हिदतिकाये इयंमन मे
पालतिकाये ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह । [जनः] कल्याणम् एव
पश्यति—“इदं मया कल्याणं कृतम्” इति । नो मनाक् पापं पश्यति—“इदं
मया पापं कृतम्” इति; इदं वा आस्नवं नाम इति । दुष्प्रत्यवेक्ष्यं च तु
खलु एतत् । एवं च तु खलु [जनः] एतत् पश्येत् इमानि आस्नवगामीनि

नाम—यथा चाण्डं, नैष्ठुर्यं, क्रोधः, मानः, ईर्ष्या [एतेषां] कारणेन एव अहं
मा परिभ्रंशयिष्यामि, धर्मभ्रष्टं करिष्यामि ” । एतत् बाढं पश्येत्—
“इदं मे ऐहिकाय इदम् अन्यत् मे पारत्रिकाय ” ॥

SUMMARY

King Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the Gods says as follows:

People think (or speak) only of whatever good they have done, as follows: ‘This good deed was done by me’. But they do not think (or speak) of sin thus: ‘This sin was committed by me’ or ‘This is what is called sin.’ It is difficult to determine. However, one should look at this situation thus: “These passions like violence, cruelty, anger, vanity and jealousy lead to sin and let me not ruin myself on account of these and fail in the matter of *dharma*.” One should think well—“this (particular action) will be for my good in this world and the other deed is for my good in the next world.”

31. PILLAR EDICT OF AŚŌKA—IV

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 243-42 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Toprā, Ambālā District, Punjab, now Firūz Shāh's Kōṭlā, Delhi.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , p. 122 and plate.

TEXT

देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा ।

सङ्वीसति-वस-अभिसितेन मे इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता । लजूका मे बहुसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आयता । तेसं ये अभिहाले वा दंडे वा अतपतिये मे कटे । किंति लजूका अस्वथ अभिता कंमानि पवतयेवू जनस जानपदसा हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु चा । सुखीयन-दुखीयनं जानि-संति धम्मयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं । किंति हिदतं च पालतं च आलाधयेवू ति । लजूका पि लंघति पटिचलितवे मं । पुलिसानि पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति । ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूका चघंति आलाधयितवे । अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिडटवे हेवं ममा लजूका कटा जानपदस हितसुखाये । येन एते अभीता अस्वथ संतं अविमना कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे । इछितविये हि एसा । किंति वियोहाल समता च सिय दंड-समता चा ।

अव इते पि च मे आवृत्ति । बंधन-वधानं मुनिसानं तीलित-दंडानं पत-
वधानं त्तिनि दिवसानि मे योते दिने । नातिका व कानि निज्ञपयिसंति
जीविताये तानं नासंतं वा निज्ञपयिता दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं
कच्छंति । इच्छा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति ।
जनस च वढति विविधे धंम-चलने संयमे दान-सवि-भागे ति ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—षड्विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन
मया इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता । रज्जुकाः मया बहुषु प्राणशतसहस्रेषु जने-
[षु] आयाताः । तेषां यः अभिहारः वा दण्डः वा, आत्मपतिकः मया
कृतः । किमिति?—रज्जुकाः आश्वस्ताः अभीताः[च] कर्माणि प्रवर्तयेयुः,
जनस्य जानपदस्य हितसुखम् उपदध्युः, अनुगृह्णीयुः च । सुखन-दुःखनं
ज्ञास्यन्ति, धर्मयुतेन च व्युपदेक्ष्यन्ति जनं जानपदं—किमिति?—इहृत्यं च
पारत्रिकं च आराधयेयुः इति । रज्जुकाः अपि रंघन्ते परिचरितुं माम्,
पुरुषान् अपि मे छन्दज्ञान् परिचरिष्यन्ति । ते अपि च कांश्चित् व्युपदे-
क्ष्यन्ति येन मां रज्जुकाः जाग्रति आराधयितुम् । यथा हि प्रजां व्यक्तायै
धात्यै निसृज्य आश्वस्तः भवति “व्यक्ता धात्री जागर्त्ति मे प्रजां सुखं
प्रतिहर्तुं” एवं मम रज्जुकाः कृताः जानपदस्य हितसुखाय । येन एते
अभीताः आश्वस्ताः सन्तः अविमनसः कर्माणि प्रवर्तयेयुः इति, एतेन मया
रज्जुकानाम् अभिहारः वा दण्डः वा आत्मपतिकः कृतः । एष्टव्यं हि
एतत्—किमिति?—व्यवहार-समता च स्याद् दण्ड-समता च । यावत् इतः
अपि च मे आवृत्तिः—बन्धनबद्धानां मनुष्याणां तीर्णदण्डानां प्राप्तवधानां
त्रयः दिवसाः मया यौतकं दत्तम् । ज्ञातिकाः वा कांश्चित् निध्याययिष्यन्ति
जीविताय वा तेषां, नश्यन्तं वा निध्याययितुं दानं दास्यन्ति पारत्रिकम्,
उपवासं वा करिष्यन्ति । इच्छा हि मे एवं-निरुद्धे अपि काले पारत्रिकम्
आराधयेयुः इति । जनस्य च वर्धते विविधं धर्मचरणं संयमः दानसंविभागः
[च] इति ॥

SUMMARY

King **Priyadarśi** says as follows:

This record on *dharma* is written twenty-six years after my coronation.

The *Rajjukas* have been appointed by me to control several hundred thousand souls. The power to reward or punish is conferred on them by me, so that they can function with confidence and without fear and bring welfare and happiness to the people of the countryside and favour them. They should be aware of whatever gives pleasure and pain to the people and urge them through pious people so that all can attain happiness in this world and the next. They should obey the officers (*purushas*) who know my wishes and exhort others among themselves who do not know my wishes, so that they may please me.

The *Rajjukas* have been appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the people of the countryside. They are like an experienced nurse entrusted with the care of a child making the parent feel that the expert nurse is able to bring up the child well. The power to reward or punish is vested in them so that they may function without fear, with confidence and with pleasure.

It is indeed desirable that there should be impartiality in judicial proceedings and punishment. A condemned prisoner may be given a respite of three days within which their relatives may plead for mercy or prepare him for the event by bestowing gifts or undertaking fasts, so that they may attain happiness in the next world, as desired by me.

Thus various ways of practice of *dharma* such as self-control and distribution of gifts are promoted among people.

32. PILLAR EDICT OF AŚŌKA—V

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 243-42 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Rāmpurvā, Champaran Dist., Bihar.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, p. 152 and plate.

TEXT

देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह । सङ्वीसति-वसाभिसितेन मे इमानि पि जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि । सेयथ सके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंबा-कपिलिक दुलि अनठिक-मछे वेदवेयके गंगा-पुपुटके संकुज-मछे कफट-सेयके पंन-ससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेत-कपोते गाम-कपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति ।

अजका नानि एलका च सूकली च गभिनी व पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके । वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये । तुसे सजीवे नो ज्ञापयितविये । दावे अनठाये च विहिसाये व नो ज्ञापयितविये । जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये ।

तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं पुंनमासियं तिनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनु-पोसथं मछे अवध्ये नो पि विकेतविये ।

एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनमि केवटभोगसि यानि अनानि पि जीव-
निकायानि नो हंतवियानि ।

अठमि-पखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तिसु चातुं-
मासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो निलखितविये । अजके एलके सूकले ए वापि
अने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये । तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुं-
मासि-पखाये अस्वस गोनेस लखने नो कटविये ।

यावसड्वीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिकाये पंनवीसति
बंधन-मोखानि कटानि ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह । षड्विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन
मया इमानि अपि जातानि अवध्यानि कृतानि ; तद्यथा—शुकः शारिका
अरुणः चक्रवाकः, हंसः, नन्दीमुखः, गेलाटः, जतूकः अम्बापिपीलिका,
दुडिः, अनस्थिकमत्स्यः, वेदवेयकः, गङ्गापुपुटकः, सङ्कुचमत्स्यः कमठ-
शल्यकौ, पर्नशशः, सूमरः, षण्डकः, औकपिण्डः, परस्वान्, श्वेतकपोतः,
ग्रामकपोतः सर्वे [च] चतुष्पदाः ये प्रतिभोगं न यन्ति न च खाद्यन्ते ।

अजका एषा (=या) एडका च सूकरी च गर्भिणी वा पयस्विनी वा
अवध्या, पोतकाः च के (चित्=ये) आषाण्मासिकाः वृद्धि-कुक्कुटः नो
कर्तव्यः । तुषः सजीवः न दाहयितव्यः । दावः अनर्थाय वा विहिंसायै वा
नो दाहयितव्यः । जीवेन जीवः नो पोषितव्यः ।

तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु, तिष्यायां पौर्णमास्यां त्रिषु दिवसेषु—चतुर्दशे
पञ्चदशे प्रतिपदि [च] ध्रुवायाः च अनूपवसथं मत्स्यः अवध्यः नो अपि
विक्रेतव्यः । एतान् एव दिवसान् नागवने, कैवर्तभोगे ये अन्ये अपि जीव-
निकायाः [ते] नो हन्तव्याः ।

अष्टमी-पक्षे चतुर्दश्यां पञ्चदश्यां, तिष्यायां, पुनर्वसौ, तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु, सुदिवसे गौः न निर्लक्षयितव्यः । अजकः एडकः शूकरः, ये वा अपि अन्ये निर्लक्ष्यन्ते [ते] न निर्लक्षयितव्याः । तिष्यायां, पुनर्वसौ, चातुर्मास्यां, चातुर्मासीपक्षे [च] अश्वस्य गोः [च] लक्षणं नो कर्तव्यम् ॥

यावत्-षड्विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया एतस्याम् अन्तरिकायाम् पञ्चविंशतिः बन्धन-मोक्षाः कृताः ॥

SUMMARY

King Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the Gods says as follows:

Twenty-six years after my coronation the following species of animals were declared to be protected from slaughter. They are: parrots, mainas, ruddy geese, wild geese, waterborne bird (*nandī-mukha*), *gelāṭa*, bats, queen-ants, terrapins, boneless fish, *veduveyakas*, *gaṅgāpuputakas*, skate-fish, tortoises and porcupines, leaf-hares, twelve-antler stags, free roaming bulls, cats and rats etc., rhinoceroses, white pigeons, village pigeons and all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible.

Those she-goats, ewes and cows, pregnant or milch, should not be killed. Also their young ones, less than six months old should not be killed. Cocks are not to be caponed. Husks containing living beings should not be burnt. Forests should not be burnt without purpose or just to destroy living beings. **Living beings must not be fed with living beings.**

Fish should neither be killed nor sold on the three days of every three-monthly period, the fullmoon day in the month of Tishya (Jan-Feb.), the fourteenth, the fifteenth of every bright fortnight and the first of the dark fortnight in each case and in every fast day.¹ These and other species of animals should not be killed in the forests and the fishermen's localities.

Bulls and other animals are not to be castrated on those days, also on the eighth, fourteenth and fifteenth days of the fortnight and

on the days of Tishya and Punarvasu, on the three days of every three-monthly period and on every auspicious day.¹ Horses and bullocks should not be branded on those days.

So far, twentyfive times I have ordered the release of prisoners twenty-six years after my coronation.²

NOTES

1. See No. 18 above, note 4. Tishya was the birth star of Aśoka.
 2. Aśoka seems to have ordered the release of prisoners on the anniversaries of his coronation. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 36.
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33. PILLAR EDICT OF AŚŌKA—VI

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 243-42 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Rāmpurvā, Champaran Dist., Bihar.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, p. 155 and plate.

TEXT

देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह । दुवाडस-वसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित लोकस हित-सुखाये । से तं अपहट तं तं धंम-वढि पापोव । हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्या-संनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु किमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि । हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि । सव-पासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय । ए चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने से मे मोख्य-मुते । सड्वीसतिवसा-भिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह । द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया धर्मलिपिः लेखिता लोकस्य हितसुखाय । तत् तां अप्रहर्ता तां तां धर्मवृद्धिं प्राप्नुयात् । “एवं लोकस्य हितसुखम्” इति प्रत्यवेक्षे—यथा इदं ज्ञातिषु एवं प्रत्यासन्नेषु, एवम् अपकृष्टेषु, कथं कां [श्चि]त् सुखम् आवहामि इति,

तथा च विदधामि । एवम् एव सर्वनिकायेषु प्रत्यवेक्षे । सर्वपार्षदाः अपि मया पूजिताः विविधया पूजया । यत् च तु इदम् आत्मना प्रत्युपगमनं तत् मे मुख्यमतम् । षड्विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता ॥

SUMMARY

King Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the Gods says thus:

Twelve years¹ after my coronation the records on *dharma* were written by me for the first time for the welfare and happiness of the people so that people may follow them in many ways and ensure the growth of *dharma*.

I think of how best I may bring happiness to all the people, relatives or neighbours, far and near. I act in that manner. Similarly I think in respect of all classes of people. All religious sects also have been greeted by me with different kinds of honours. I consider it important to meet them personally.

This record on *dharma* is written twenty-six years after my coronation.

NOTE

1. This will be c. 257 B.C.

34. PILLAR EDICT OF AŚŌKA—VII¹

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 243-42 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Toprā (Punjab), now at Delhi,
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, p. 130 and plate.

TEXT

East Face of the Pillar

देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा ।

ये अतिकंतं अंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इछिसु कथं जने धंम-वढिया वढेया । नो चु जने अनुलुपाया धंम-वढिया वढिया ।

एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा । एस मे हुथा । अतिकंतं च अंतलं हेवं इछिसु लाजाने कथं जने अनुलुपाया धंम-वढिया वढेया ति । नो च जने अनुलुपाया धंम-वढिया वढिया । से किनसु जने अनुपटिपजेया । किनसु जने अनुलुपाया धंम-वढिया वढेया ति । किनसु कानि अभ्युंनामयेहं धंम-वढिया ति ।

एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा । एस मे हुथा । धंम-सावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसथिनि, अनुसासामि । एतं जने सुतु अनु-पटीपजीसति अभ्युंनमिसति

Round the Pillar

धंम-वढिया च वाढं वढिसति । एताये मे अठाये धंम-सावनानि सावापितानि धंमानुसथिनि विविधानि आनपितानि य[था पुलि*]सा पि बहुने जनसि आयता ए ते पलियोवदिसंति पि पविथलिसंति पि । लजूका पि बहुकेसु पान-सत-सहसेसु आयता । ते पि मे आनपिता हेवं च हेवं च पलियोवदाथ जनं धंमयुतं ।

देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा । एतमेव मे अनुवेखमाने धंम-थंभानि कटानि धंम-महामाता कटा धंम-[सावने*] कटे । देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा । मगेसु पि मे निगोहानि लोपापितानि छायोपगानि होसंति पसु-मुनिसानं अंबा-वाडिक्या लोपापिता । अढकोसिक्यानि पि ये उदुपानानि खानापापितानि निसिढया च कालापिता । आपानानि मे बहुकानि तत तत कालापितानि पटिभोगाये पसु-मुनिसानं । ल[हुके चु*] एस पटीभोगे नाम । विविधाया हि सुखायनाया पुलिमेहि पि लाजीहि ममया च सुखयिते लोके । इमं चु धंमानुपटीपती अनुपटीपजंतु ति एतदथा मे एस कटे ।

देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा । धंम-महामाता पि मे ते बहुविधेसु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटासे पवजीतानं चेव गिहिथानं च सव-[पासं*]-डेसु पि च वियापटासे । संघठसि पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति निगंठेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति नाना-पासंडेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति पटिविसिठं पटीविसिठं तेसु तेसु ते [ते*] [महा*]माता धंम-महामाता चु मे एतेसु चेव वियापटा सवेसु च अनेसु पासंडेसु ।

देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा । एते च अने च बहुका मुखा दान-विसगसि वियापटासे मम चेव देविनं च । सवसि च मे ओलोधनसि ते बहुविधेन आकालेन तानि तानि तुठायतनानि पटी[पादयंति or वेदयंति] हिद चेव दिसासु च । दालकानां पि च मे कटे अनानं च देवि-कुमालानं

इमे दानविसगेसु वियापटा होहंति ति धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपटिपतिये ।
एस हि धंमापदाने धंमपटीपति च या इयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे
साधंवे च लोकस हेवं वढिसति ति ।

देवानंपिये [पियदसि*] लाजा हेवं आहा । यानि हि कानिचि
ममिया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके अनूपटीपने तं च अनुविधियंति । तेन
वढिता च वढिसंति च मातापितिसु सुसुसाया गुलुसु सुसुसाया वयोमहा-
लकानं अनुपटीपतिया बाभन-समनेसु कपनवलाकेसु आव दास-भटकेसु
संपटीपतिया ।

देवानंपि[ये*] [पि*]यदसि लाजा हेवं आहा । मुनिसानं चु या
इयं धंम-वढि वढिता दुवेहि येव आकालेहि धंम-नियमेन च निज्झातिया
च । तत चु लहु से धंम-नियमे निज्झातिया व भुये । धंम-नियमे चु खो
एस ये मे इयं कटे इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवधियानि । अनानि पि चु
वहु[कानि*] धंम-नियमानि यानि मे कटानि । निज्झातिया व चु भुये
मुनिसानं धंम-वढि वढिता अविहिंसाये भूतानं अनालंभाये पानानं । से
एताये अथाये इयं कटे पुता-पपोतिके चंदमसुलियिके होतु ति तथा च
अनुपटीपजंतु ति । हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हिदत-पालते आलधे होति ।
सतविसति-वसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंम-लिपि लिखापापिता ति ।

एतं देवानंपिये आहा । इयं धंम-लिपि अत अथि सिलाथंभानि वा
सिला-फलकानि वा तत कटविया एन एस चिल-ठितिके सिया ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।

ये अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं राजानः अभूवन् [ते] एवम् ऐषिषुः—कथं
जनः धर्मवृद्ध्या वर्द्धेत ? नो च तु जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या अवर्द्धिष्ट ।
एतत् देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—‘एतत् मे [मनसि]

अभूत्—अतिक्रान्तम् च अन्तरम् एवम् ऐषिषुः राजानः कथं जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या वर्द्धेत' इति; नो च जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या अवर्द्धिष्ट । तत् केनस्वित् जनः [धर्मम्] अनुप्रतिपद्येत । केनस्वित् जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या वर्द्धेत इति । 'केनस्वित् कांश्चित् अभ्युन्नामयेयं धर्मवृद्ध्या' इति ।

एतत् देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह । एतत् मे [मनसि] अभूत् । धर्मश्रावणानि श्रावयामि धर्मानुशस्तीः [च] अनुशास्मि । एतत् जनः श्रुत्वा [धर्मम्] अनुप्रतिपत्स्यते, अभ्युन्नमिष्यति, धर्मवृद्ध्या च बाढं वर्द्धिष्यते । एतस्मै मया अर्थाय धर्मश्रावणानि श्रावितानि, धर्मानुशस्तयः विविधाः आजप्ताः । यथा [राजपुरु]षाः अपि बहौ जने आयताः ये ते पर्यवदेक्ष्यन्ति अपि प्रविस्तारयिष्यन्ति अपि । रज्जुकाः अपि बहुकेषु प्राण-शतसहस्रेषु आयताः । ते अपि मया आजप्ताः—'एवं च एवं च पर्यवदिशत जनं धर्मयुतम्' । देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी एवम् आह—'एतस्मिन् एव मया अनुवीक्ष्यमाणे धर्मस्तम्भाः कृताः, धर्म-महामात्राः कृताः, धर्म-श्रावणं कृतम्' ।

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह । मार्गेषु अपि मया न्यग्रोधाः रोपिताः छायोपगाः भविष्यन्ति पशुमनुष्याणाम्; आम्र-वाटिकाः रोपिताः । आण्टकौशिकानि अपि मया उदपानानि खानितानि, निःशिलण्टकाः च कारिताः । आपानानि मया बहुकानि तत्र तत्र कारितानि प्रतिभोगाय पशु-मनुष्याणाम् । लघुकः च तु एषः प्रतिभोगः नाम । विविधया हि सुखनया पूर्वैः अपि राजभिः मया च सुखितः लोकः । इमां च तु धर्मानु-प्रतिपत्तिं अनुप्रतिपद्यन्तां इति एतदर्थाय मया एतत् कृतम् ।

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह । धर्ममहामात्राः अपि मे ते बहुविधेषु अर्थेषु आनुग्राहिकेषु व्यापृताः प्रव्रजितानां च एव गृहस्थानां च, सर्वपार्षदेषु अपि च व्यापृताः । सङ्घार्थे अपि मया कृतम्-इमे व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति; एवम् एव ब्राह्मणेषु आजीविकेषु अपि मया कृतम्-इमे

व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति; निर्ग्रन्थेषु अपि मया कृतम्—इमे व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति; नानापार्षदेषु अपि मया कृतम्—इमे व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति । प्रतिविशिष्टं प्रतिविशिष्टं तेषु तेषु ते ते महामात्राः धर्ममहामात्राः च तु मे एतेषु च एव व्यापृताः सर्वेषु च अन्येषु पार्षदेषु ।

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—एते च अन्ये च बहुकाः मुख्याः दानविसर्गे व्यापृताः मम च एव देवीनां च; सर्वस्मिन् च मे अवरोधने ते बहुविधेन आकारेण तानि तानि तुष्टायतनानि प्रतिपादयन्ति (or वेदयन्ति) इह च एव [सर्वासु] दिशासु च । दारकाणाम् अपि च मया कृतम् अन्येषां च देवी-कुमाराणाम् इमे [महामात्राः] दानविसर्गेषु व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति धर्मापदानार्थाय धर्मानुप्रतिपत्तये [च] ।

एतत् हि धर्मापदानं धर्मप्रतिपत्तिः च—‘या इयं दया, दानं, सत्यं, शौचकं, मार्दवं, साधवं च लोकस्य एवं वर्द्धिष्यते’ इति ।

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—यानि हि कानिचित् मया साधवानि कृतानि, तानि लोकः अनुप्रतिपन्नः, तानि च अनुविधी-यन्ते । तेन वर्द्धिताः च वर्द्धिष्यन्ते च—मातापितृषु शुश्रूषया, गुरुषु शुश्रूषया, वयोमहार्यकाणाम् अनुप्रतिपत्त्या, ब्राह्मण-श्रमणेषु कृपणवारकेषु यावत् दासभृतकान् सम्प्रतिपत्त्या ।

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—मनुष्याणां च तु या इयं धर्मवृद्धिः, [सा] वर्द्धिता द्वाभ्याम् एव आकाराभ्यां—धर्मनियमेन च निध्यात्या च । तत्र च तु लघुः सः धर्मनियमः, निध्यात्या एव भूयः । धर्मनियमः च तु खलु एषः, यत् मया इदं कृतम्—इमानि च इमानि [च] जातानि अवध्यानि । अन्ये अपि च तु बहुकाः धर्मनियमाः ये मया कृताः । निध्यात्या एव च तु भूयः मनुष्याणां धर्मवृद्धिः वर्द्धिता अविहिंसायै भूतानाम्, अनालम्भाय प्राणिनां [च] । तत् एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं [धर्मलिपिः] कृता पौत्र-प्रपौत्रिकी चान्द्रमः-सौर्यिकी भवतु इति, तथा च अनुप्रतिपद्यन्ताम् इपि । एवं हि अनुप्रतिपद्यमाने ऐह्य-पारत्रं आराद्धं भवति ।

सप्तविंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन मया इयं धर्म-लिपिः लेखिता इति ।

एतत् देवानांप्रियः आह—‘इयं धर्मलिपिः यत्र सन्ति शिलास्तम्भाः
वा शिला-फलकानि वा तत्र कर्तव्या, येन एषा चिरस्थितिका स्यात्’ ॥

SUMMARY

King Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the Gods, says as follows:

Kings of ages goneby desired that people should perform and promote *dharma*. The people did not make progress. So I thought of how to elevate them through *dharma*.

King Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the Gods, says on this point:

I thought like this: “Kings, in times past, desired that the people could progress through proper promotion of *dharma*. The people did not progress. How can the people follow (the rules of) *dharma*? How can people progress through adequate promotion of *dharma*?”

It again occurred to me: ‘I will have proclamations on *dharma* and will also have instructions given to them. Listening to these, people will follow (the instructions), will get elevated and will progress through the increase of *dharma*. It is for this purpose that proclamations on *dharma* are propagated and that instructions on *dharma* are imparted. Officers have been placed over several people to preach and spread these (rules on *dharma*). *Rajjukas* also are placed over many hundred-thousands of people. They are also ordered by me thus: ‘instruct people devoted to *dharma* in this manner’.

Bearing this in mind, pillars bearing records on *dharma* are set up, *Dharma-Mahāmātras* are appointed and proclamations (by beat of drums) are made by me.

Banyan trees and mango groves are planted to provide shade for beasts and men. Rest-houses and wells and watersheds at intervals of about 30 kilometres (eight *krōśas*) are also provided. This is but a trifle. Previous kings, and now I myself, have done this. But I do these for the progress of *dharma* among the people.

The King says (further):

Dharma-Mahāmātras are engaged in various activities beneficial both to ascetics and house-holders, also to all other religious sects and the Buddhist assembly. Some of them are occupied with the Brāhmaṇas, the Ājīvikas² and Nirgranthas³ and also others (not mentioned).

These officers are also charged with the proper delivery of the gifts made by me, my queens and all the members of my entire household to worthy recipients reported by them; thus I seek that the practice of *dharma* consisting of compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness and goodness may grow. Whatever good deeds I have done, people do the same and follow them up. They will also develop further, respect and obedience to parents, and elders, courtesy to the aged, to the Brāhmaṇas, to the Śramaṇas, to the poor, to the distressed and even to slaves and servants.

The King says (further):

I promote *dharma* by two ways: one by restrictions and another by exhortation. The protection of animals from slaughter and similar steps are restrictions. By example and by writing the records on stone I have substantially promoted *dharma* by exhortation. The progress of *dharma* among men has grown in regard to abstention from harming any living being and from killing any animal. I have done this so that it (*dharma* of my people) may last as long as the Sun and Moon and as long as my sons and great grandsons shall reign. Any person following these (rules of *dharma*) will attain happiness in this world and in the next. This edict on *dharma* is engraved by me twentyseven years after my coronation.

This edict on *dharma* must be engraved on pillars and slabs of stone so that it may last for a long time.

NOTES

1. See note 1 on Pillar Edict of Aśoka—I (No. 28 above), This is the additional edict referred to therein.
2. See No. 24, note 1.
3. Naked Jaina mendicants.

35. PILLAR EDICT OF AŚŌKA'S QUEEN

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 243-42 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aśōka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar, Allahabad-Kosam, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Corp. Ins. Ind.</i> , I, p. 158 and plate.

TEXT

देवानांप्रियषा वचनेना सवत महमता वतविया ।

ए हेता दुतियाये देवीये दाने अंवा-वडिका वा आलमे व दान-गहे व ए वा पि अंने कीछि गनीयति ताये देविये पे । नानि हेवं [ग*]न-
[येथ*] दुतीयाये देविये ति तीवल-मातु कालुवाकिये ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रियस्य वचनेन सर्वत्र महामात्राः वक्तव्याः—

यत् अत्र द्वितीयायाः देव्याः दानम्-आम्रवाटिका वा आरामः वा दानगृहं वा, यत् वा अपि अन्यत् किञ्चित् गण्यते, तस्याः देव्याः तत् । एनानि एवं गणयेत—“द्वितीयायाः देव्याः” इति “तीवरमातुः कारुवाक्याः” ॥

SUMMARY

The Mahāmātras everywhere must be told in the words of the Beloved of Gods, as follows:

Any donation, whether a mango-grove or a garden or an alms-house or anything else made by (my) second queen should be registered in the name of (my) second queen *Kāruvākī*¹, the mother of Tivara.²

NOTES

1. Sircar suggests also Chāruvākī as another form of her name. Her name Kāruvākī is possibly connected with the spiritual lineage of Kāruvāka or with her father's name Karuvaka, unknown otherwise. See note 3 on No. 27 above.

2. He is not known to have succeeded Aśoka and is the only son mentioned in inscriptions.

36. ĀṆḌIYĀ-KANDA CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ABHAYA

<i>Date</i>	.. c. B.C. 242
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Local Language
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Abhaya/Mahārāja Tishya
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Vijaya
<i>Location</i>	.. Riṭigala Hill range, south-east of Anu-rādhapura, North Central Province, Srilanka
<i>Reference</i>	.. Wickkremasinga, <i>Ep. Zeyl.</i> , I, p. 144 and plate.

TEXT

देवनपिय महरञ्ज-गमिणि-तिसह पुतश देवनपिय-तिस-अवयह लेने
अगत-अनगत-चतुदिसि-शगस दिने ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

देवानांप्रिय-महाराज-ग्रामणी-तिष्यस्य पुत्रस्य देवानांप्रिय-तिष्याभ-
यस्य लयनम् आगतानागत-चातुर्दिश-संधाय दत्तम् ।

SUMMARY

(This) cave made by **Tishya-Abhaya**¹, son of Mahārāja Grāmaṇī² Tishya, the Beloved of the Gods is given to (for the use of the members of) the *Samgha* who hail from the four quarters (i.e. from all directions)³.

NOTES

1. Tishya in the name Tishya Abhaya and the epithet 'Dēvānām priya' are obviously borrowed from Aśoka whose natal star was Tishya, i.e. Pushya and who had the epithet 'Dēvānām priya'.
2. *Grāmaṇi* means leader or ruler. Many rulers in Śrīlanka had this title.
3. It was during Tishya's times that Buddhism was introduced in Śrīlanka. Abhaya does not appear to have become king. Tishya descended from Vijaya through Upatissa, Pāṇḍuvāsudēva, Abhaya, Pāṇḍukābhaya and Muṭasaiva. The editor assigns Tishya to 77-59 B.C.

37. CAVE INSCRIPTIONS OF DAŚARATHA

<i>Date</i>	.. 220 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Daśaratha
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maurya
<i>Location</i>	.. Nāgārjunī Hills, Gaya District, Bihar.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Bühler, <i>Ind. Ant.</i> , XX, p. 364.

TEXT

I

वहियका कुभा दषलथेन देवानंपियेना आनंतलियं अभिषितेना
आजीविकेहि भदंतेहि वाषनिषिदियाये निषिठे आचंदमषूलियं ॥

II

गोपिका कुभा दषलथेना देवानंपियेना आनंतलियं अभिषितेना
आजीविकेहि भदंतेहि वाषनिसिदियाये निसिठा आचंदमषूलियं ॥

III

वडथिका कुभा दषलथेना देवानंपियेना आनंतलियं अभिषितेना
आजीविकेहि भदंतेहि वाषनिषिदियाये निषिठा आचंदमषूलियं ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

I

वहियका गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्येण अभिषिक्तेन
आजीविकेभ्यः भदंतेभ्यः वर्षानिषद्यायै निसृष्टा आचन्द्रमस्सूर्यम् ॥

II

गोपिका गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्येण अभिषिक्तेन
आजीविकेभ्यः भदन्तेभ्यः वर्षानिषद्यायै निसृष्टा आचन्द्रमस्सूर्यम् ॥

III

वडथिका गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्येण अभिषिक्तेन
आजीविकेभ्यः भदन्तेभ्यः वर्षानिषद्यायै निसृष्टा आचन्द्रमस्सूर्यम् ॥

SUMMARY

Daśaratha, the beloved of the gods¹, presented the three caves Vahiyakā, Gōpikā and Vaḍathikā² to the Ājīvika monks for use during the rainy season, as long as the Moon and the Sun last.

NOTES

1. The epithet *dēvānām priyaḥ* was adopted by Aśōka who had endowed similar caves to such monks (see No. 24 above).
 2. Each of the three caves bears the same text, of the inscription with the only difference being in the name of each one of them.
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38. BHATṬIPRŌLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS

<i>Date</i>	.. 3rd century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Kubēraka
<i>Dynasty</i>	..
<i>Location</i>	.. Three caskets and a crystal in a box ¹ , Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. D. C. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, pp. 224 ff.

TEXT

Casket—1

कुरपितुनो च कुरमातु च कुरष च सिवस च मजुसं पणति फालि-
गषमुगं च बुधसरिराणं निखेतु वनवपुतष ॥ कुरष षपीतुकष मजुसं ॥
उतरो पिगहपुतो काणीठो ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

कुरपितुः च कुरमातुः च कुरस्य च शिवस्य च मञ्जूषा प्रणीतिः
स्फाटिकसमुद्गः च बुद्धशरीराणि निक्षेप्तुं वनवपुत्रस्य ॥ कुरस्य सपितृकस्य
मञ्जूषा ॥ उत्तरः विग्रहपुत्रः कनिष्ठः ॥

Casket—2

गोठि हिरञ्जवधवा वुगालको कालहो विसको थोरसिसि समणो
ओदलो अपक[ठो] षमुदो अनुगहो कुरो सतुघो जंतको जंतो आलिनक
वरुणो पिगलको कोषको सुतो पापो कभेरखो गालेको समनदाषो भरदो

ओडालो थोरतिसो तिसो गीलाणो जंभो पुडर आबो गालव त . . जनको
गोसालकानं कूरो उपोषथपुतो उत्तरो कारहपुतो ॥

समणदाषतो हित . . . बुधष सरिरानि महियानु(नि) षंमाष ॥
गोठिसमनो कुबो । हिरणकार गामणीपुतो बूबो ॥

षा गोठि निगमपुतानं राजपामुखा । षारिरष पुतो खुबिरको राजा
षीहगोठिया पामुखो तेषं अनं मजुसं फालिगषमुगो च पासाण-षमुगो च ॥
समणो चघत्रपुतो उत्तरो आरामु तरपुत ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

गोष्ठी हिरण्यव्याघ्रपात् उद्गारकः कालहः विश्वकः स्थौलशीर्षी
श्रमणः औदलः अपकृष्टः समुद्रः अनुग्रहः कुरः शत्रुघ्नः जयन्तकः जयन्तः
आलीनकः वरुणः पिङ्गलकः कोषकः (OR कौशिकः) श्रुतः पापः
कुम्भीरकः गालेकः श्रमणदासः भरतः औदलः (OR औदारः) स्थौल-
तिष्यः तिष्यः ग्लानः जम्भः पुडरः आम्रः गालवः त . . जनकः गोशाल-
कानां कूरः उपोसथपुत्रः उत्तरः कारहपुत्रः ॥

श्रमणदासतः हितानि . . . बुद्धस्य शरीराणि मह्यानि शर्मणे ॥

गोष्ठीश्रमणः कुम्भः । हिरण्यकारः ग्रामणीपुत्रः बूबः ॥

सा गोष्ठी निगमपुत्राणां राजप्रमुखा । शारीरस्य पुत्रः कुबेरकः
राजा सिंहगोष्ठ्याः प्रमुखः । तेषां अन्या मञ्जूषा स्फाटिकसमुद्गः च
पाषाणसमुद्गः च ॥

श्रमणः जघन्यपुत्रः उत्तरः आरामः तरपुत्रः ॥

Casket—3

नेगमा, वछो चघो जेतो जंभो तिसो रेतो अचिनो षभिको अखघो
केलो केसो माहो सेटो छदिकोघ खबूलो सोणुतरो समणो समणदाषो
सामको कामुको चीतको ॥

अरह दिनानं गोठिया मजूस च षमगो च । तेन कम येन कुबिरको
राजा अंकि ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

नैगमाः—वत्सः चङ्गः जयन्तः जम्भः तिष्यः रैवतः अचीर्णः
सभिकः अक्षघ्नः केलः केशः माघः श्रेष्ठः छद्दिकोघः खबूलः सुवर्णोत्तरः
श्रमणः श्रमणदासः श्यामकः कामुकः चित्रकः ॥ अर्हद्दानां गोष्ठ्याः
मञ्जूषा च समुद्गः च । तेन कर्म, येन कुबेरकः राजा आङ्घ्रिष्ट ॥

Crystal in a box

मातृग्रामस नन्दपुराहि सुवर्णमाहा शमनुदेशानं च, गिलानकेरस
अयसक-[सगो]ठिय गोहिया अ . दानं ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

मातृग्रामस्य नन्दपुरात् सुवर्णमाघात् श्रमणोद्देशानां च ग्लान-
कार्यस्य आयासकगोष्ठ्याः च गोहिका अ[त्य*]ग्रदानम् ॥

SUMMARY

Casket—1

This casket is the contribution of **Kura** and his parents and of Śiva, prepared to hold the crystal box containing the deposits of Buddha's relics, (which was contributed by) Banava's son¹.

Uttara, the youngest son of Vighraha (made these objects)²

Casket³—2

A casket and a stone crystal box are the contribution of the members of a group from Hiraṇyavaghava (aided by) Kumbha, the monk and Būbā, the goldsmith and the members of the guild, who

have King **Kubēra**ka, the son of Śārīra, as their chief who is also the head of Lion-group (assisted by) the monks Chaghañaputra and others.

Casket⁴—3

A casket and a crystal box are the contribution of the committee of the venerable Arahadina, caused to be done by their king **Kubēra**ka, (assisted by) the monks Śramaṇadāsa and others.

Crystal⁵

Gift from the women of Nandapura to provide for the weary among the novices belonging to the group of Āyāsaka.

NOTES

1. S. Sankaranarayanan (*Svasti Sri*: Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra Felicitation Volume: *Some Forgotten Pages in the Early Cultural History of the Andhras*, pp. 61-66) reads this section and the contents of casket 2 as verses in *Mātrāvṛitta* and *Udgiti*. The texts presented here incorporate some of the improvements in the readings made by him.

2. Sankaranarayanan considers Uttara to be the composer of the previous paragraph considered by him as verse.

3. The lid of these caskets contain names of a number of persons who were members of a guild, who, along with their leader contributed the casket and the crystal. See Text.

4. Contains names of a number of persons who were members of a guild.

5. This part of the text and summary is based on Buhler's Edition (*Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 323 ff) and Sircar's version (*Sel. Ins.*, pp. 224 ff.)

39. MAHĀSTHĀN STONE PLAQUE INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	*.. 3rd century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Mahāsthān, Bogra District, Bangla Desh
<i>Reference</i>	.. D. R. Bhandarkar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXI, pp. 83-91 and plate.

TEXT

. . . , नेन¹ संवगीयानं² तल दिनस । सम दिन । सुमाते ।
सुलखिते पुडनगलते । एतं [नि*]वहिपयिसति । संवगीयानं च [दि*]ने ।
धानियं । निवहिसति । दगितियायिके यिकसि । सुअतियायिक
सि पि । गंड[केहि*] . . . यिकेहि एस कोठागाले कोसं

TEXT SANSKRITISED

. . [महामात्राणां वच]नेन संवर्गीयानां² तिलः दत्तः सर्षपं च
दत्तम् । सुमात्रः सुलक्षितः पुण्ड्रनगरतः एतत् निवाहयिष्यति । संवर्गी-
येभ्यश्च दत्तं धान्यं निवक्ष्यति । उदकात्ययिकाय देवात्ययिकाय (or
अग्न्यत्यायिकाय) शुष्कात्ययिकाय चापि गण्डकैः धान्यैश्च एषः कोष्ठा-
गारः कोषः [च परिपूरणीयौ] ॥

SUMMARY

Sesame and mustard have been granted to the Samvagiya³ to
tide over the outbreak of distress due to floods, fire or draught.

Sumātra, the distinguished (officer) from Puṇḍranagara will oversee this. The granary (where these are stored) may be replenished with grains and *gaṇḍaka* coins (in times of plenty).⁴

NOTES

1. Some writing on the top of the left side of the stone is lost.
 2. Sircar (*Select Inscriptions*, Vol.I, 1965, No. 45, pp. 79-80), following Barua, prefers the reading Shaḍvargīya and the interpretation of this term as 'of persons of the Shaḍvargika sect of the Buddhists'.
 3. Saṁvagiya (or Saṁvargīya) may be the name of a locality around the findspot. As Bhandarkar would have it, Saṁvaṅgiyas may be identical with Samvajji confederacy which included Puṇḍras, the people living around Puṇḍravardhana.
 4. Compare the contents of this record with No.41 where similar provision was made.
-

40. PIPRĀHWĀ BUDDHIST VASE INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	.. 3rd Century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Sukīrti and Bhakti
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Mound at Piprāhwā (near Nēpāl border), Basti District, Uttar Pradesh.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> I, No. 46, p. 81 and plate.

TEXT

Metre: Upagiti or Udgiti (Irregular)

सुकिर्तिभतिनं सभगिनिकनं सपुत्रदलनं ।
इयं सलिलनिधने बुधस भगवते सकियनं¹ ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

²सुकीर्तिभ्रातृणां सभगिनीकानां सपुत्रदाराणां ।
इदं शरीरनिधानं बुद्धस्य भगवतः शाक्यानाम् ॥

SUMMARY³

This is the receptacle of the relics of the Supreme Buddha of the Śākya (clan) donated by **Sukīrti** and his brothers in company with their sisters, sons and wives.⁴

NOTES

1. Sircar reads सकियानं.

2. Sircar renders this in Sanskrit as सुकीर्ति भक्त्योः सभगिनीकयोः सपुत्रदारयोः and interprets the same accordingly. See note 4.

3. The inscription is engraved below the neck of the soapstone vase in a single line, the last two letters being written above the line. The recent excavations at the site of the mound revealed that a *stūpa* enshrining a vase with the Buddha's relics was constructed immediately after his death in 483 B.C., and later on it was reconstructed at a higher level, again with another vase (i.e. the present one). The lid of the lower pot bears a legend *Kapilavastu*, thus confirming the identity of the *stūpa* erected by the Śākya over the Buddha's remains. See K. M. Srivastava in 'New Light on the Piprahwa Vase Inscription' in *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India), Vol. II, 1975, pp. 100-110 and plates.

4. D. C. Sircar renders this as 'the gift of Sukīrti and Bhakti (Bhātī)' (*Sel. Ins.*, I, No. 46, p. 81 and plate). Fleet translates the latter portion of the text as 'kinsmen of Buddha the Blessed One, with their sisters, with their children and wives'.

41. SOHGAURA BRONZE PLAQUE INSCRIPTION¹

<i>Date</i>	.. 3rd century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Mahāmātras of Śrāvastī
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Sohgaura, Gorakhpur, District, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 47, p. 82.

TEXT

सवतियन महमग (त) न ससने मनवसितिकद [।*] सिलिमते वसगमे
व एते दवे कोठगलनि तिघवनि । माथुल चच-मोदम-भलकन छल
कयियति अतियायिकय । नो गहिग (त) वय ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

श्रावस्तीयानां महामात्राणां शासनं मानवाशीतिकटतः । श्रीमति
वंशग्राम एव एतौ द्वौ कोष्ठागारौ त्रिगर्भौ । माथुर-चञ्च-मयुदाम-भल्ल-
कानां क्षारः कार्यते आत्ययिकायाम् । नो ग्रहीतव्यम् ।

SUMMARY

Issued from the Mānavāsīti camp of the Mahāmātras² of Śrāvastī

Here are two three-storeyed granaries in the villages of Śrīmān and Vamśa-grāma. The produce from Māthura, Chancha, Mayu-dāma and Bhallaka are to be (stored and) distributed in times of distress. (The grains) need not be reimbursed (from the people)

NOTES

1. The figures of two three-storeyed structures and the symbols of a tree within a low stone fencing around, lotus-bud and moon above a hillock are drawn on the plaque above the writing.

2. See Rock Edict of Aśoka—No. 9, note 6 regarding Mahāmātras.

3. For a similar instance of provision for times of famine see No. 39 above.

42. MÖRĀ BRICK INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	.. 3rd century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Yaśamatā
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Mathurā (Museum), U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Lüders, <i>Mathurā Inscriptions</i> , No. 116, p. 155 and plate.

TEXT

जिवपुताये राजभर्याये ब्रह्मस्वातिमितधितु यशमताये कारितं ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

जीवपुत्रया राजभार्यया बृहत्स्वातिमितदुहिता यशमतया कारितम् ।

SUMMARY

[The object (probably a building)] was created by Yaśamatā, who is consort of the king (and) daughter of Bṛihatsvātimitra and whose all children are living (*jīvaputrā*).¹

NOTE

1. The fact that 'a lady is being referred to as a lady with all her children living' indicates that such a woman considered to be meritorious in ancient times. Compare Nos. 184 and 197 below. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *paṭṭābhishēka-sarga*, verse No. 107. Cf. also *Mantra-Praśna* (*Ekāgni kāṇḍa*), 1, 4, 8.

43. STŪPA (I) INSCRIPTION FROM SĀÑCHI

<i>Date</i>	.. 3rd century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Left pillar above the capital, Sāñchi, Raisen District, M.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sir John Marshall, <i>The Monuments of Sāñchi</i> , No. 396, plate 134.

TEXT

यो¹ इतो काकणावातो तोरण वेदिक वा उपाडेया उपाडापेया वा
आनं वा आचरियकुलं संकामेया सो मतिघातिन पितिघातिन अरहंतघातिन
रुधिरुपायकान सघभेदिन ते दु . चित . . नस पापा
. . . कारिन सवेम . पटिपए ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

यः इतः काकणावातः तोरणं वेदिकां वा उपादेयात् उपादापयेत् वा
अन्यत् वा आचार्यकुलं संक्रामयेत् सः मातृघातिनः पितृघातिनः अर्हन्त-
घातिनः रुधिरपायिनः संघभेदिनः , कारिणः सर्व
प्रतिपद्येत² ॥

SUMMARY

. . . . [this pillar or railing]

He who takes away or allows to be taken away from this

Kākaṇāvā³ an ornamental arch or railing or allows it to be transferred to another temple of the teacher shall incur (the sin)⁴ of those who murder mothers, fathers, saints, of those who create schism in the *Saṅgha* and of those who cause bloodshed and of all such sins.

NOTES

1. Beginning lost.
2. Some portions of this incomplete passage are restored on the basis of a similar inscription (ibid. No. 378) from the same place. The ruins of the *Stūpas* in Sāñchi have yielded a large number of inscriptions of which only two are included in this volume. For the rest see Sir John Marshall, *The Monuments of Sāñchi*.
3. Kākaṇāvā is the ancient name of Sāñchi.
4. This is probably the earliest instance of a curse on vandals who desecrate sacred places.

44. STŪPA (II) INSCRIPTION FROM SĀÑCHI

<i>Date</i>	.. 3rd century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Relic box, <i>stūpa</i> II, Sāñchi, Raisen District, M.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sir John Marshall, <i>The Monuments of Sāñchi</i> , p. 290, plate 140, g.

TEXT

सविन विनायकान अरं कासपगोतं उपादय अरं च वाचिसुवि-
जयितं विनायकं ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सर्वेषां विनायकानां अर्हतां काश्यपगोत्राणां उपादेयं अर्हतां च
वात्सिसुविजयितं विनायकं ।

SUMMARY

[This is the box containing the relics]¹ of all teachers including
Arhat Kāśyapa gōtra and *Vātsi-Suvijayita*.

NOTE

1. Such boxes, fifteen more in number, are known to have been ex-
cavated from the second and third *stūpas* which are reported according to
the inscriptions on them to contain the relics of many saints like Madhyama,
Mahavanāya, Kauṇḍīnyaputra, Maudgalīputra, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, Sāri-
putra etc.

45. SĪTĀBENGĀ CAVE INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	.. 3rd century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Rāmgarh Hill, Sarguja District, Madhya Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. Bloch, <i>A.S.I., A.R.</i> , 1903-04, pp. 123 ff and plate.

TEXT

अदिपयंति हृदयं¹ । सभावगुरुकवयो ए रातयं . . . दुले वसंतिया ।
हासावानूभूते । कुदस्फतं एवं अलंग . [त] . ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

आदीपयन्ति² हृदयम् । स्वभावगुरुकवयः एवं रात्र्यां
दोलया वासन्त्या । हास्यवाण्युद्भूतैः । कुन्दस्फीतं एवम् अलंक . . ।

SUMMARY

Poets venerable by nature kindle the heart³, who,
. as the swing-festival (of the full-moon) in the spring season, when fun and frolics abound, people adorn themselves with . . . of jasmine flowers.

NOTES

1. The text is considered to be metrical, though the actual metre used cannot be determined. The vertical lines indicate interpunctuation to divide parts forming connected expressions.
2. The Sanskrit rendering is based on Bloch's suggestions.
3. The inscription describes the pleasure derived from exquisite poetry.

46. JÖGIMĀRĀ CAVE¹ INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	.. 3rd century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Dēvadatta / . . .
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Ramgarh Hill, Sarguja District, Madhya Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. Bloch, <i>A.S.I.</i> , <i>A.R.</i> , 1903-04, pp. 123 ff and plate.

TEXT

शुतनुक नम । देवदशिक्यी शुतनुक नम । देवदशिक्य तं कमयिथ
वलनशेये देवदिने नम । लुपदखे ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सुतनुका नाम देवदासी । सुतनुका नाम देवदासी । तां कामयिता
वाराणसेयः देवदत्तो नाम रूपदक्षः ।

SUMMARY

The temple-dancer Sutanukā.

The sculpture **Dēvadatta** from Vārānasī,² loved her.

NOTES

1. The wall of the cave bears traces of paintings depicting human figures and animals. Chariot, elephants and attendants are also seen. Houses with windows are also traceable.

2. This is the rendering suggested by Fleet in *JRAS*, p. 511, note.

47. SHINKŌṬ (BAJAUR) CASKET INSCRIPTION OF VIYAKAMITRA

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 115-90 B.C.
<i>Script and</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Menander
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Indo-Greek
<i>Location</i>	.. Steatite casket, Shinkot, Bajaur Tribal territory, Pakistan, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.
<i>Reference</i>	.. N. G. Majumdar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXIV, pp. 1-10 and plate.

TEXT

Rim of lid

..... मिनद्रस महरजस कटिअस ।

४४४ ११ प्रणसमेद ।

Centre of lid

..... प्रतिथवित ।

Inner face of lid

प्रणसमेद तो शकमुनिस ।

Inside of casket

वियकमित्रस अप्रचरजस ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

..... मिनद्रस्य महाराजस्य कार्तिकस्य [दिवसे] १४ प्राणसमेतं
..... प्रतिष्ठापितम् । प्राणसमेत [भगव]तः शाक्य-
मुनेः । वीर्यकमित्रस्य अप्रत्यग्राजस्य¹ ॥

SUMMARY

On the 14th day of Kārttika, in the reign of Mahārāja **Minadra**²
..... endowed with life is installed

..... of the Śākya sage endowed with life

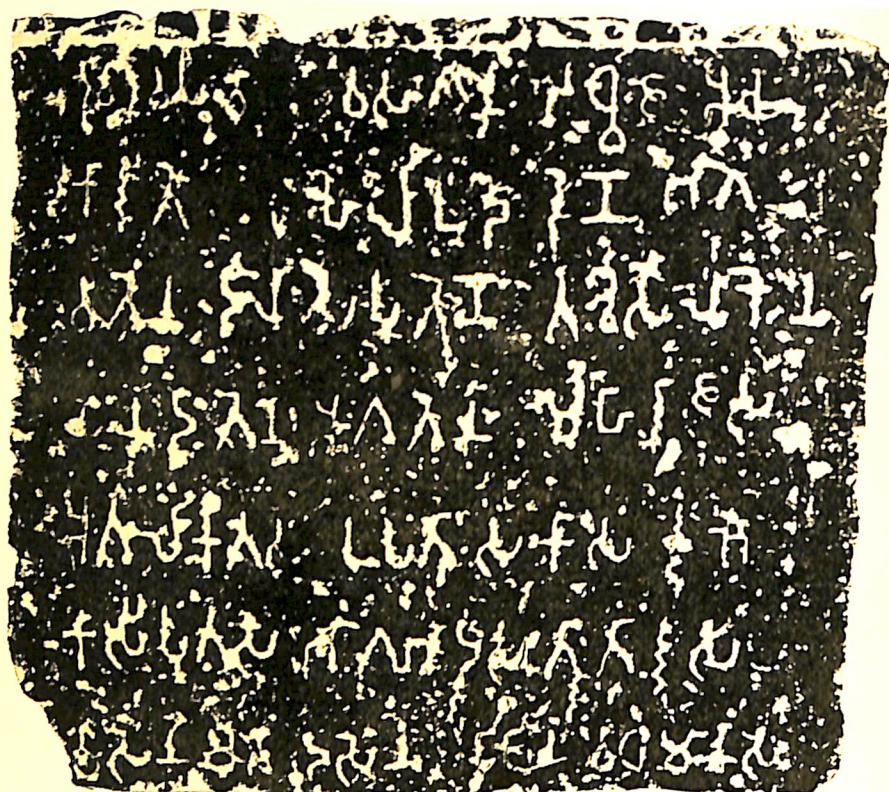
(The gift of) Viyakamitra (Vīryakamitra), who has no rival
among kings.

NOTE

1. For other Sanskrit rendering of the word in question see No. 50 below.

2. This king's name occurs in some of his coins as Menadra and in some others as Miṇandra. Some of his coins bear a legend in Kharōshthī script reading as 'Menadrassa maharajassa tratarassa' (*Menadrasya Mahārājasya trātara*) meaning 'of king Menander, the protector'. Menander ruled from Sākala (Sialkot in Panjab). A Pāli work *Milindapañha* or 'The Questions of King Menander' contains a number of dialogues between this king and a Buddhist sage called Nāgasēna.

Menander and Antialcidas (see No. 48 below) are the only two Indo-Greek kings known also from epigraphs. All Indo-Greek kings, about thirty in all, except these two are known only from coins, such as Apollodotus, Demetrius, Eucratides, etc. All of them ruled over an area, which at the height of their power, extended from Kabul in the west to the western districts of Uttar Pradesh in the east and to Kāthiawar in the south.



48. GARUḌA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF HELIODORA

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 14: 113 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit.
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Heliodora (Heliodorus)/Bhāgabhadra
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śuṅga
<i>Location</i>	.. Garuḍa pillar, Besnagar, Vidisa Tahsil, Vidisa Dist., M.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 2, p. 88.

TEXT

Part I

देवदेवस वा[सुदे]वस गरुडध्वजे अयं कारिते इअ हेलिओदोरेण
भागवतेन दियस पुत्रेण तखसिलाकेन योनदूतेन आगतेन महाराजस
अंतलिकितस उपता सकासं रजो कासीपुत्रस [भा]गभद्रस त्वातारस वसेन
चतुदसेन राजेन वधमानस ॥

Part II

त्रिणि अमुतपदानि [इअ] सुअनुठितानि नेयंति [स्वगं] दम चाग
अप्रमाद ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

Part I

देवदेवस्य वासुदेवस्य गरुडध्वजः अयं कारितः इह हेलियोदोरेण
भागवतेन दियस्य पुत्रेण ताक्षशिलाकेन यवनदूतेन आगतेन महाराजस्य
अन्तलिकितस्य उपान्तात् सकाशं राज्ञः काशीपुत्रस्य भागभद्रस्य त्वातुः
वर्षेण चतुर्दशेन राज्येन वर्द्धमानस्य ॥

Part II

त्रीणि अमृतपदानि इह स्वनुष्ठितानि नयन्ति स्वर्गं दमः त्यागः
अप्रमादः ॥

SUMMARY

This Garuḍa flagstaff¹ for lord Vāsudēva was created (i.e. donated) by **Heliodōra (Heliodorus)**, son of Diya, a *bhāgavata*² from Takshaśilā³ and the Yavana (Greek) ambassador of *mahārāja* Antalikita⁴ with (accredited to) the prosperous king *trātāra*⁵ Bhāgabhadra⁶, a Kāśīputra⁷ in (the latter's) 14th regnal year.

Self-control, sacrifice and vigilance—these three eternal characteristics when practised well in this world lead one to the heavens⁸.

NOTES

1. Temples in India will have, at the outer entrance, a flagstaff in alignment with the deity and appropriate with the religious denomination. A pillar with the figure or the image of Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vāsudēva or Viṣṇu serves as a flagstaff in this temple.

2. a devotee of the *bhagavat* (Viṣṇu).

3. Taxila in the North West Frontier Province (now in Pakistan).

4. Antalikita (Antialcidas) also known from his coins was an Indo-Greek king who ruled in the second century B.C., over a wide area covering Kāpiśa (Ghorband Valley), Pushkalāvati (Chārsaddha) and Takshaśilā (Taxila)—all in the North-west Frontier Province, now in Pakistan.

5. Sircar considers this word to be a translation of the Greek word *Soteros* found on the coins of the Indo-Greek kings and suggests, on this basis, that a Greek (Heliodorus himself) might have drafted the record.

6. Bhāgabhadra is identical with Bhadraka, the fifth Śuṅga king according to the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*. For details about the Śuṅga dynasty, see note 1 on No. 51.

7. Bhandarkar reads Kōśīputra (i.e., Kautsīputra), meaning, the son of Kautsī, pointing to the mother belonging to the lineage of Kutsa. Cf. Metronymics like Vāsishṭhiputra, Gautamīputra, Māḍharīputra etc. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 16 ff.)

8. Attention is drawn to comparable passages conveying the same sense: दमस्त्यागोऽप्रमादश्च एतेष्वमृतमाहितम् in *Mahābhārata*, V, 43, 22 and अप्रमादोऽमृतपदं प्रमादो मच्चुनो पदं in *Dhammapada*, II, 1.

49. SCULPTURE INSCRIPTION FROM BARHUT

<i>Date</i>	.. 2nd century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Vijitaka
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Sculpture ¹ , Barhut, Satna District, Madhya Pradesh, now in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Hindu University, Varanasi.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXIV, pp. 207-08 and plate.

TEXT

A

तिमितिमिगलकुछिम्हा
वसुगुतो मोचितो महादेवेन [11]

B

विजितकस सुचि दानं [11]

TEXT SANSKRITISED

A

तिमितिमिङ्गलकुक्षेः
वसुगुप्तः मोचितः महादेवेन ॥

B

विजितकस्य सूची दानम् ॥

SUMMARY

A

Vasugupta was rescued from the belly of (the whale called) Timitimiṅgila by Mahādēva².

B

[This] railbar is the gift of Vijitaka

NOTES

1. The sculpture bears a representation of a boat with three persons, about to be devoured by a whale and being rescued subsequently.

2. This episode resembles an event in a story in the *Dīvyāvadāna* and the *Bōdhistv-āvadāna-kalpalatā* involving the miraculous escape of the seafaring merchants from the whale, by uttering the name of Buddha. The sculpture is one of many such pieces unearthed from Barhut *stūpa* site.

50. SHINKŌṬ (BAJAUR) CASKET INSCRIPTION OF
VIJAYAMITRA

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 5 : c. 50 B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Vijayamitra
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka
<i>Location</i>	.. Steatite casket, Shinkōṭ. Bajaur Tribal territory, Pakistan, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.
<i>Reference</i>	.. N. G. Majumdar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXIV, pp. 1-10 and plate.

TEXT

Centre of Lid

विजयमित्र पते प्रदिथविदे ।

Inside of Casket

इमे शरिर पलुगभुद्रओ न सकरे अत्ति । स शरिअत्ति कलद्रेन
शध्रो न पिंडोयकेयि पित्ति ग्रिणयत्ति । तस ये पत्ते अपोमुअ । वषये पंचमये
४ १ वेश्रखस मसस दिवस पंचविश्रये इयो प्रत्तिथवित्ते विजयमित्तेन
अप्रचरजेन भगवतु शकिमुनिस समसंबुधस शरिर ।

Back of Casket

विशिपलेन अणंकतेन लिखिते ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

विजयमित्रेण पातं प्रतिष्ठापितम् । इदं शरीरं प्ररुग्ण-
भूतकं न सत्कारैः आदृतम् । तत् शीर्यते कालतः, न श्रद्धः न पिण्डोदकानि

पितृन् ग्राहयति । तस्य एतत् पात्रम् अपमुक्तम् । वर्षके पञ्चमके ५
वैशाखस्य मासस्य दिवसे पञ्चविंशके इह (पुनः) प्रतिष्ठापितं विजयमित्रेण
अप्राच्यराजेन¹ भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य शरीरम् । विश्वलेन
आज्ञाकर्त्ता लिखितम् ॥

SUMMARY

. . . . the bowl has been established by Vijayamitra.²

The corporeal relic, now broken is neither worshipped nor honoured by the offering of food-balls and water; ancestors are no longer being propitiated. It has been given up.

On the 25th day in the month of Vaiśākha in the 5th (regnal) year (this casket) containing the corporeal relic of the supreme Śākyamuni, the truly enlightened, is here established³ by Vijayamitra, a king of the west.

Written by Viśpila, the executive.

NOTES

1. For other rendering see No. 47, Note 2.
2. Both Vijayamitra of the inscription (No. 47) on the lid of the casket and Vijayamitra of this inscription seem to belong to the same family. Vijayamitra for whom no epithets are given in this record was an independent ruler and his son Indravarman and Aspavarman are known from coins secured in and around Taxila.
3. It is clear that the relic was transferred to a new casket, though it is not stated to have been re-established.

51. PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF THE ŚUNĠAS

<i>Date</i>	.. Later half of the 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Dhanabhūti
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar of the Eastern Gateway, Buddhist Stūpa at Barhut, Madhya Pradesh; now in Indian Museum, Calcutta.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Lüders, <i>C.I.I.</i> , II, part II, A 1, p. 11, and plate.

TEXT

सुगनं रजे रजो गागीपुतस विसदेवस पौतेण गोतिपुतस आगरजुस
पुतेण वाछिपुतेन धनभूतिन कारितं तोरनां सिलाकमंतो च उपण ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

शुङ्गानां राज्ये राज्ञः गार्गीपुत्रस्य विश्वदेवस्य प्रौत्रेण गौप्तीपुत्रस्य
अङ्गारद्युतेः (or अग्रराजस्य) पुत्रेण वात्सीपुत्रेण धनभूतिना कारितं
तोरणम् । शिलाकर्मान्तः च उत्पन्नः ॥

SUMMARY

During the reign of the Śunḡas¹ the gateway was donated by Vātsīputra² **Dhanabhūti**,³ son of Gaupṭiputra² Angāradadyuti (or

Agrarāja) and grandson of Gārgīputra² king Viśvadēva⁴. The stone-work (i.e., circular stone-wall around the building) was also presented (by him).

NOTES

1. Pushyamitra (187-151 B.C.) established the Śuṅga dynasty after killing the last Maurya king Brīhadratha. His empire extended as far upto the river Narmadā in the south, with Pāṭaliputra (Patna in Bihar) as the capital city. His descendants, as mentioned in the *Purāṇas*, the only source, were: Agnimitra, Vasujyēshṭha, Vasumitra, Antaka or Bhadraka, Pulinda, Ghōsha, Vajramitra, Bhāgavata and Dēvabhūti. The dynasty ruled for 112 years. See No. 48, note 6.

2. Vātsīputra, Gaupṭīputra and Gārgīputra are metronymics i.e. names indicating the spiritual genealogy of the women whose sons (*putra*) they were.

3. Another inscription (Lüders, op.cit., A 3, p. 14) on a railing of the main building of Barhut refers to Vādhapāla, son of king Dhanabhūti who is identical with the person of the same name in this record.

4. King Viśvadēva was probably a feudatory of a later Śuṅga king of Vidiśa.

52. GHŌSŪṆḌĪ INSCRIPTION OF SARVATĀTA

<i>Date</i>	.. Later half of the 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Sarvatāta
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. From a well at Ghōsūṇḍī near Nagari, Chittorgadh Dist., now at Victoria Hall, Udaipur, Rajasthan.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 3, p. 90.

TEXT

कारितोऽयं राज्ञा भागवतेन गाजायनेन पाराशरीपुत्रेण सर्वतातेन
अश्वमेधयाजिना भगवद्भूयां संकर्षणवासुदेवाभ्यां अनिहताभ्यां सर्वेश्वराभ्यां
पूजाशिलाप्राकारो नारायणवाटकः¹ ॥

SUMMARY

This stone enclosure around the place of worship, (called) Nārāyaṇa-vāṭaka² was constructed for the supreme unconquerable lords Saṅkarashaṇa and Vāsudēva, by the king Sarvatāta³, a *bhāga-vata*⁴, a Gājāyana⁵, Pārāśari-putra⁶ and a performer of horse sacrifice (*aśvamēdha*).⁷

NOTES

1. The original reads वाटका. A nearly similar version is available in the Hāthi-Bāḍa (Nagari) inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 198). The two make up the full text presented here.

2. This means, obviously, an enclosure around the place where god Nārāyaṇa (Vāsudēva) was worshipped.

3. Sarvatāta (an epithet and not a name) was a brāhmaṇa ruler, probably of the Kāṇva family. See note 5 below. Some members of this family ruled after the Śuṅgas approximately from 75-30 B.C.

4. a devotee of *bhagavat* (Vishṇu).

5. Gājāyana is probably the same as Gādāyana mentioned in the Matsya-purāṇa as the name of a *gōtra* falling under the Kāṇva division of the *Āṅgīrasa-gaṇa* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 205).

6. His mother belonged to the Parāśara-gōtra.

7. *Aśvamēdha* is the name of a sacrifice, performed by powerful ancient Indian kings, of a horse set to wander over all regions uninterrupted or unchallenged and to return triumphantly signifying the king's supremacy.

53. MUSĀNAGAR BRICK INSCRIPTION OF DĒVĪMITRA

<i>Date</i>	.. 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Dēvīmitra
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Musānagar, Kanpur District, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Altekar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXX, pp. 118-20 and plate

TEXT

. के अश्ववातायनिपुतस देविमितस अश्वमेधे ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

. के आश्ववातायनीपुत्रस्य देवीमित्रस्य अश्वमेधे ।

SUMMARY

. . . . (The brick on the altar)¹ of the horse-sacrifice of (i.e. performed by) Dēvīmitra², son of Āśvavātāyana³.

NOTES

1. See No. 102 below for another similar brick inscription probably from the same site.

2. Dēvīmitra and Dāmamitra (see No. 102 below) probably belonged to the same family. Their connections with other kings of Kauśāmbi and Ahichchhatra whose names end in the suffix 'Mitra' are, however, not known.

3. This is evidently the *gōtra* (*Āśvavātāyana*) of the mother of Dēvīmitra.

54. INSCRIPTION ON COPPER COINS OF THE MĀLAVAS—I

<i>Date</i>	.. 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Mālavas
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Nagar, Jaipur District, Rājasthan
<i>Reference</i>	.. V. A. Smith, <i>Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta</i> , 1, pp. 170-78, plate

TEXT

मालवानां जयः¹ ।

TRANSLATION

‘Victory to the Mālavas’

NOTE

1. This legend is embossed in two lines on the obverse of round coins. The reverse contains, in most of the coins, the figures of a pot or radiant Sun and an unidentified symbol. A few others contain the figures of a snake, a standing lion or a humped bull. One type of the coins shows on the obverse the legend *Mālavaga* (i.e., Mālava- gaṇa, ‘the group of Mālavas’) written in the negative fashion and shows on the reverse the figure of a peacock (*loc.cit*, plate XX, facing p. 173, Nos 14-24). The Mālavas drifted in the 2nd century B.C. from Punjab to Central India through Rajasthan. Their coins with the same legend issued at different times are assignable to dates ranging from the 1st century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. See Nos. 114 and 168 below.

**55. INSCRIPTION ON SILVER AND COPPER COINS OF
THE YAUDHĒYAS—1**

Date	.. 1st century B.C.
Script	.. Brāhmī
Language	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
Donor/King	.. Yaudhēyas
Dynasty
Location	.. Sonpath, Jogadheri, Rohtak etc., in Punjab
Reference	.. V. A. Smith, <i>Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta</i> , 1, p. 180

TEXT

बहुधात्रके यधेयन¹ ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

बहुधान्यके यौधेयानां ।

“of the **Yaudhēyas**² at Bahudhānyaka³”

NOTES

1. The obverse bearing the above legend also shows a bull turned to the right, facing a railing with a curved object rising from it. The reverse has an elephant facing right with its trunk raised and a symbol of a stem with an arm on either side,

2. The Yaudhēyas (derived from the word *yodha*-warrior) were a warlike tribe first found in the northwestern parts of Pakistan and Punjab. See Nos. 162, 211 and 212 below for their history in the later period.

3. Bahudhānyaka is probably located in the Rohtak region in Punjab where moulds of these coins have been discovered.

56. INSCRIPTION ON COPPER COINS OF THE ARJUNĀYANAS

<i>Date</i>	.. 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Arjunāyanas
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Mathura, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta
<i>Reference</i>	.. V.A. Smith, <i>Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta</i> , 1, p. 166 and plate

TEXT

अर्जुनायनानां जयः¹ ।

“Victory to the Arjunāyanas²”

NOTES

1. The legend is embossed in a circular form along the rim on the obverse which also contains a railing with a curved object rising from it. A humped bull is shown to its left facing the railing. The reverse contains a tree within a low fence and to its left an elephant with its trunk raised. One other type shows on the obverse a standing figure of a man with right hand raised.

2. The Arjunāyanas are assigned to a region west of Agra and Mathura. They continued to exist upto the times of Varāhamihira in the 6th century A.D.

57. PABHOSĀ INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF ŪDĀKA

<i>Date</i>	.. End of the 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Āshāḍhasēna/Ūdāka
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Cave (outside and inside), at Pabhosā near Kosam, Allahabad Dist., U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Führer, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , II, p. 242 and plate

TEXT

A (Outside)

राज्ञो गोपालीपुत्रस बृहस्पतिमित्त्रस मातुलेन गोपालीया-वैहीदरी-
पुत्रेन आषाढसेनेन लेनं कारितं ऊदाकस दसमसंवत्सरे कश्यपीयानं अरहं-
तानं¹

B (Inside)

अधिष्ठत्राय राज्ञो शोकायनपुत्रस्य वंगपालस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञो तेव-
णीपुत्रस्य भ्रागवतस्य पुत्रेण वैहीदरीपुत्रेण आषाढसेनेन कारित ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

A

राज्ञः गोपालीपुत्रस्य बृहस्पतिमित्स्य मातुलेन गोपालिका-वैहीदरी-
पुत्रेण आषाढसेनेन लयनं कारितम् । ऊदाकस्य दशमसंवत्सरे काश्यपीयानां
अर्हतां

B

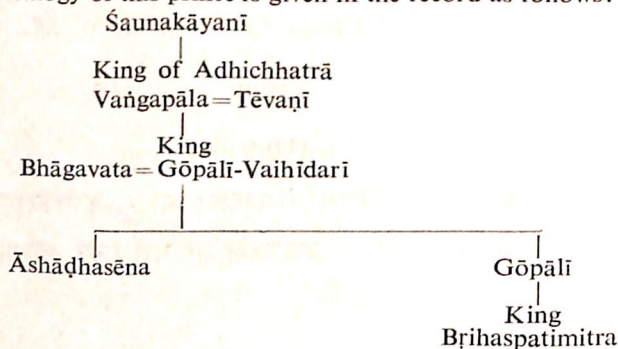
अधिछत्राया राज्ञः शौनकायनीपुत्रस्य वंगपालस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः तेव-
णीपुत्रस्य भागवतस्य पुत्रेण वैहीदरीपुत्रेण आषाढसेनेन कारितम् ॥

SUMMARY

This cave was excavated¹ by Āshādhasēna² in the tenth year of the reign of Ūdāka³ for the (Buddhist) ascetics of the Kāśyapīya school.⁴

NOTES

1. The fact about the excavation of this cave is mentioned in both the inscriptions, one engraved outside and the other inside.
2. The genealogy of this prince is given in the record as follows:



Adhichhatrā is Ramnagar in Bareilly District, Uttar Pradesh. Tēvaṇī, Gōpālī-Vaihidārī and Gōpālī were possibly names of places or families to which the ladies belonged. Brihaspatimitra is the same as Bahasatimīta mentioned in the Hāthīgumpha Inscription of Khāravēla (No. 67). Āshāḍhasēna was evidently a prince at the time of the record.

3. Ūdāka's identity is not known.
4. Kāśyapīya school held the views that Bōdhisattvas are average beings, that Arhats have ignorance and doubt etc.

58. CHILAS INSCRIPTION ON MAHĒŚA

<i>Date</i>	.. End of the 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Varehamaha
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Second recess on the western face of the rock in the river Indus near Chilas on the Karakorum Highway, Dyamar District, Occupied Kashmir.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Ahmad Hasan Dani, <i>Chilas, The City of Nanga Parvat</i> (Dyamar), pp. 116-117, Nos. 91-92, plate

TEXT

Left of the figure of Śiva in the recess.¹

शेवस ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

Right of the same figure

ईशिवो वरेहमहस महेश ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

शिवस्य ।

ईशदेवो वरेहमहस्य महेशः ।

SUMMARY

Left of the figure of Śiva
'(This figure is) of Śiva'

Right of the same figure
'Mahēśa, the lord of gods' (gift) of Varēhamaha².

NOTES

1. The recess contains a sketch of a human figure having a crown on the head, a club in the right hand and a noose-like object in the left hand. The body is just a rectangle and the male organ hangs below.
2. The identity of this person is not known.

59. INSCRIPTION OF DHARMAPUTRA

<i>Date</i>	.. End of the 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Dharmaputra
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Third recess on the western face of the rock in the river Indus near Chilas on the Karakorum Highway, Dyamar District, Occupied Kashmir.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Ahṃad Hasan Dani, <i>Chilas, The City of Nanga Parvat</i> (Dyamar), pp. 121-22, No. 95, plate.

TEXT

Above two figures¹

रमकृष्णस धमपुत्रस ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

रामकृष्णयोः । धर्मपुत्रस्य ।

SUMMARY

Of Rāma and Kṛishṇa (contribution of) **Dharmaputra**

NOTE

1. The two figures are fairly well-sketched with flowing dress covering the body. The left figure has a crown on the head, holds a club in the right hand and a plough-topped banner in the left hand. The right figure has a crescent-shaped headgear. The right hand holds a club and the left holds a discus. It is obvious that the figures represent Balarāma and Kṛishṇa.

60. CHILAS INSCRIPTION OF MAEUS—I

<i>Date</i>	.. End of the 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Maeus ¹ (Moga)
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka
<i>Location</i>	.. Second recess ² on the northern face of the rock in the river Indus near Chilas on the Karakorum Highway, Dyamar District, Occupied Kashmir.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Ahmad Hasan Dani, <i>Chilas, The City of Nanga Parvat</i> (Dyamar), pp. 96-97, No. 72 and plate.

TEXT

मोगरजस
गोपदस अक्षपुत्र
गोपदस बलपुत्र

TEXT SANSKRITISED

मोगराजस्य
अक्षपुत्रगोपदस्य
बलपुत्रगोपदस्य

SUMMARY

(This is the figure of) Mogarāja. (This is the figure of) Gōpada, son of Aksha. (This is the figure of) Gōpada⁴, son of Bala.

NOTES

1. See No. 80 note 3 below for details on the king.
2. This recess contains carvings of a scene depicting the presentation of chiefs defeated and captured by the king's soldiers to the king. The latter two labels refer to two different chiefs captured and presented before the king.
3. The suffixes 'sa' of all the three names have to be understood as of genitive case, as *rajasa* (i.e. *rājasya*) cannot have any other meaning. Dani takes Gōpadaśa as the name.
4. These two are two different persons defeated by Mōgarāja and their names are engraved under the respective carvings.

61. CHILAS INSCRIPTION OF MAEUS—II

<i>Date</i>	.. End of the 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Maeus ¹
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka
<i>Location</i>	.. Third recess ² at the same place as in No. 60 above
<i>Reference</i>	.. Ahmad Hasan Dani, <i>Chilas, The City of Nanga Parvat</i> (Dyamar), pp. 100-101, No. 78 and plate.

TEXT

कडओ समुद्रस ककस प्रथतस समुद्रसेनस (कडओ) घोषमित्स
पुत्रस ककस मोगस महत्कस (क्षत्रपस) क थवति ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

कड समुद्रस्य ककस्य प्रथितस्य समुद्रसेनस्य कड घोषमित्स्य
पुत्रस्य ककस्य मोगस्य महत्कस्य क्षत्रपस्य स्थापयति(?)

SUMMARY

For Kaka, Samudra, famous Samudrasēna, Ghōshamitra, the governor of the great Moga . . . ka sets up (the *stūpa*)

NOTES

1. See No. 80 for a note on this king.
2. This recess also contains carvings depicting a scene of a person holding a *stūpa* in his left hand. By his left side there is another solid votive *stūpa*.

62. CHILAS INSCRIPTION OF MAEUS—III

<i>Date</i>	.. End of the 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Maeus
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka
<i>Location</i>	.. Northern face of the front rock in the river Indus near Chilas on the Karakorum Highway, Dyamar District, Occupied Kashmir.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Ahmad Hasan Dani, <i>Chilas, The City of Nanga Parvat</i> (Dyamar), p. 110, No. 85, plate.

TEXT

मोगस महत्कस क्षत्रपस सिधलकस एति—थवतिक अहेरथ ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

मोगस्य महत्कस्य क्षत्रपस्य सिद्धलकस्य एडि (एडुक) स्थपतिकः
अहिरथः ।

SUMMARY

Ahiratha, the architect of Buddhist shrine (in the service) of Siddhalaka, the Kshatrapa of the great **Moga** (i.e. Maeus)

63. CHILAS INSCRIPTION OF RĀHULA

<i>Date</i>	.. End of the 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthi
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Rāhula
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Second recess in the western face of the rock in the river Indus near Chilas on the Karakorum Highway, Dyamar District, Occupied Kashmir.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Ahmad Hasan Dani, <i>Chilas, The City of Nanga Parvat</i> (Dyamar), pp. 116-17, No. 94 plate

TEXT

On the top of the column¹

राहुलस ।

To the right of the *Stūpa*²

मिजुप्रिएन जिनथुबु राहुलेन कनेन च अओदितो थुबु ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

On the top of the column

राहुलस्य ।

To the right of the *Stūpa*²

मज्झिमप्रियेण जिनस्तूपः राहुलेन कन्हेन (कृष्णेन) च आयोजितः

स्तूपः ।

SUMMARY

On the top of the column

‘(This is the contribution) of Rāhula.’

To the right of the *Stūpa*

‘The Jina *stūpa* was erected by Rāhula, the lover of the Majjhima (school of Buddhism)³ and Kanha (Kṛishṇa)’

NOTES

1. A column on a double base supporting a canopy is carved. It is topped by a moon with a circle within. Further above, the symbol of *triratna* (*Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Sangha*) is depicted. There is also a *svastikā* on either side. Festoons hang down on the sides and also across the canopy and the column.

2. This is the carving of a squattish structure wide at base covered by a semi-circular dome the ends touching the terrace of the railing on the front. Steps lead to the arched doorway. Over the dome is shown a wide-based bowl-like object resting on it. The further upper portion is broken.

3. Dani points out that this inscription confirms the evidence of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who speaks of the Arhat Madhyantika responsible for the spread of Buddhism in this region.

64. NASIK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KṚISHṆA

<i>Date</i>	.. End of the first century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Śramaṇa/Kṛishṇa
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Cave No. 19, upper sill of the right window, Nasik, Nasik District, Maharashtra.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , Vol. I, 1965, No. 75, p. 189.

TEXT

सादवाहनकुले कन्हे राजनि नासिककेन समणेन महामातेण लेण
कारित् ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सातवाहनकुले कृष्णे राजनि नासिक्यकेन श्रमणेन महामात्रेण
लयनं कारितम् ॥

SUMMARY

This cave was caused to be excavated by Śramaṇa¹, an officer (*mahāmātra*) resident of Nāsika², while king Kanha (Kṛishṇa) of the Sātavāhana³ family was ruling.

NOTES

1. For Śramaṇa as the name of a person, see No. 153 below. The word *Mahāmātra* recalls to our mind this designation as popularised by Aśoka (see No. 9 above). Senart renders this portion as: 'by the officer in charge of the Śramaṇas at Nasik' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 93). Sircar interprets this as 'by Mahāmātra, the ascetic (Śramaṇa-bhikṣhu)'. See also Mirashi, *HISWK*, 1981, part II, p. 2.

2. This is a direct references to Nasik. The other epigraphs, though found in the same place refer to Govardhana, which is nearby, but not to Nasik.

3. This family is called Andhras or Andhrabhṛityas in the mythological hagiologies (*Purāṇas*). But they started ruling over Maharashtra from their capital at Nasik and extended their sway slowly in later times to the Kṛishṇa basin in Andhra Pradesh. This dynasty was set up by Simuka (c. 30 B.C.). He was followed by his brother Kṛishṇa and his son Sātakarṇi (by the beginning of the Christian era). The *Purāṇas* mention several rulers (such as Āpīlaka, Hāla (the famous author of *Gāthāsaptatī*) etc., varying from ten to nineteen between Sātakarṇi and the next ruler, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (first quarter of the 2nd century A.D.), well-known in epigraphy. His successors were: Vāsishṭhīputra-Pulumāvi, Śivaśrī-Sātakarṇi, Śivaskanda-Sātakarṇi, Yajñaśrī-Sātakarṇi, Vijaya-Sātakarṇi, Chandraśrī and Pulōma whose reign period extended from 130 to 245 A.D.

65. NĀNĒGHĀṬ CAVE FIGURE-LABEL INSCRIPTIONS

<i>Date</i>	.. 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Śātakarṇi I
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Satavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Cave at Nānēghāṭ at the pass leading from the Konkan to Junnar, Pune District, Maharashtra
<i>Reference</i>	.. Bühler, <i>ASWI</i> , V, pp. 64 ff and plate

TEXT

- १ राया सिमुक-सातवाहनो सिरिमातो ॥
- २ देवि नायनिकाय रजो च सिरि-सातकर्णो ॥
- ३ कुमारो भाय . . . ॥
- ४ महारठि तनकयिरो ॥
- ५ कुमारो हकुसिरि ॥
- ६ कुमारो सातवाहनो ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

- १ राजा सिमुक-सातवाहनः श्रीमान् ॥
- २ देवी-नागन्निकाया राज्ञः च श्रीसातकर्णेः ॥
- ३ कुमारः भाग . . . ॥

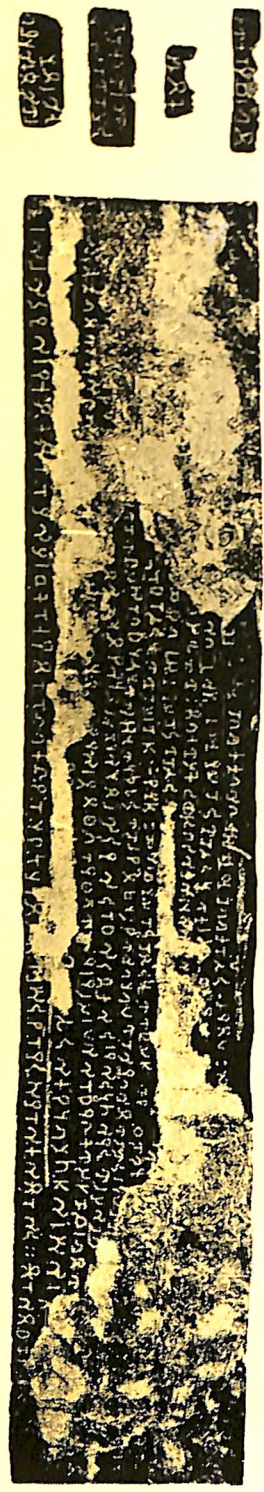
- ४ महारथी त्राणकायः ॥
 ५ कुमारः शक्तिश्रीः ॥
 ६ कुमारः सातवाहनः ॥

SUMMARY ¹

- 1 King Simuka Sātavāhana, the illustrious
- 2 (Figures) of Queen Nāgaṇṇikā and of King Sātakarṇi²
- 3 Prince Bhaga...
- 4 *Mahārathin* Tranakayira³ (Trāṇakārya)
- 5 Prince Śaktiśrī⁴
- 6 Prince Sātavāhana

NOTES

1. The inscriptions are incised above the position of the heads of the figures cut in relief, now entirely destroyed.
2. The genitive case used in this case only and the epithet, 'king' possibly suggests that the figures represent the royal pair.
3. Just as No. 1 represents evidently the king's father, No. 4 is that of the Queen's father.
4. The name of prince Vēdiśrī is not traceable in this set of figures. There is space between Nos. 4 and 5, which, it is suggested, might have contained the figure of prince Vēdiśrī (Gopalachari, *Early History of Andhradesa*, pp. 36-37) See No. 66.



Parts of Nos. 65 and 66

66. NĀNĒGHĀṬ INSCRIPTION OF NĀGANNIKĀ

<i>Date</i>	.. End of the 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Nāgannikā?/Vēdiśrī
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Cave at the top, Nānēghāṭ, a pass leading from the Konkan to Junnar, Poona District, Maharashtra.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, 1965, No. 82, pp. 192-7.

TEXT

Part I

(on the left wall)

सिधं । [पजापति]नो धंमस नमो ईदस नमो संकसनवासुदेवानं
चंदसूयानं महिमावतानं चतुनं च लोकपालानं यमवरुनकुबेरवासवानं
नमो । कुमारवरस वेदिसिरिस रजो वीरस सूरस अप्रति-
हतचकस दखि[नप]ठपतिनो [मा] . . . [वधु]य
महारठिनो अंगियकुलवधनस सगरगिरि[वर]वलयाय पथविय पथमवीरस
वस य व अलह वंतठ ? . . . सलसु महतो मह . . . सिरिस
. . . भारिया[य*] देवस पुतदस वरदस कामदस धनदस वेदिसिरि
मातु[य*] सतिनो सिरिमतस च मातुय सीम
वरिय नागवरदयिनिय मासोपवासिनिय गहतापसाय चरित-
ब्रह्मचरियाय दिखव्रतयंग्रसुंडाय यत्रा हुता धूपनसुगंधा य निय

रायस . . . यत्रेहि यिठं । वनो । अगाधेय यंत्रो दखिना दिना गावो
 बारस १० २ असो च १ । अनारभनियो यंत्रो दखिना धेनु
 दखिनायो दिना गावो १००० [१]०० हथी १० स
 ससतरय वासलठि २०० ८० ६ कुभियो रुपामयियो १० ७ भि
 रिको यंत्रो दखिनायो दिना गावो १०००० १०००
 असा १००० पस[पको] १० २ गमवरो १ दखिना
 काहापना २०००० ४००० ४०० पहपको काहापना ६००० १ राजसूयो
 यंत्रो . . . सकटं ।

Part II

(on the right wall)

धंजगिरि-तंस-पयुतं सपटो १ असो १ असरथो १ गावीनं
 १०० । असमेधो यंत्रो वित्तियो यिठो दखिनायो दिना असो रुपालंकारो
 १ सुवनं . . . नि १० २ दखिना दिना काहापना १०००० ४००० गामो
 १ हठि . . . दखिना दिना गावो . . . सकटं धंजगिरि-तंस-पयुतं १ ।
 . वायो यंत्रो . . . १० ७ धेनु ? वाय सतरस
 १० ७ अच . . . न . . . लय पसपको दिनो
 दखिना दिना सु . . . पीनी १० २ असो रुपालंकारो १ दखिना काहापना
 १०००० २ गावो २०००० । भगलदसरतो यंत्रो यिठो
 दखिना दिना गावो १०००० । गर्गतिरतो यंत्रो यिठो दखिना
 पसपको पटा ३०० १ । गवामयनं यंत्रो यिठो दखिना दिना गावो १०००
 १०० १ । . . . गावो १००० १०० पसपको काहापना . . . पटा
 १०० । अतुयामो यंत्रो गवामयनं यंत्रो दखिना दिना
 गावो १००० १०० । त दखिना दिना गावो १००० १०० ।
 सतातिरतो यंत्रो . . . १०० . . । यंत्रो दखिना गावो १००० १०० ।
 आंगिरसतिरतो यंत्रो यिठो दखिना गावो । . . . गावो

१००० २ । छन्दोमपवमानतिरतो दखिना गावो १००० । आंगिर-
 सतिरतो यंओ यिठो दखिना । रतो यिठो यंओ दखिना
 दिना । . . . तो यंओ यिठो दखिना । यंओ यिठो
 दखिना दिना गावो १००० । न स सयं दखिना
 दिना गावो त . . . । अंगिरसामयनं छवस . . . दखिना दिना गाव
 १००० । दखिना दिना गावो १००० । तेरस
 अ . . . । तेरसरतो स छ . . . आग-
 दखिना दिना गावो । . . . दसरतो म दिना
 गावो १०००० । उ १०००० । द यंओ दखिना
 दिना दखिना दिना ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

Part I

सिद्धम् ॥ प्रजापतये धर्माय नमः इन्द्राय नमः संकर्षणवासुदेवाभ्यां
 चन्द्रसूर्याभ्यां महिमवद्भ्यां चतुर्भ्यश्च लोकपालेभ्यो यमवरुणकुबेरवा-
 सवेभ्यो नमः । कुमारवरस्य वेदिश्रियो राज्ञः वीरस्य
 शूरस्य अप्रतिहतचक्रस्य दक्षिणापथपतेः वध्वा
 महारथिनः अङ्गिककुलवर्द्धनस्य सागरगिरिवरयलयायाः पृथिव्याः प्रथम-
 वीरस्य [सातकर्णि]श्रियः भार्यया देवस्य पूर्वदस्य
 वरदस्य कामदस्य धनदस्य वेदिश्रियः मात्रा शक्तेः श्रीमतः च मात्रा
 नागवरदायिन्या मासोपवासिन्या गृहतापस्या
 चरितबह्वचर्यया दीक्षाव्रतयज्ञशौण्ड्या यज्ञाः हुताः धूपनसुगन्धाः [राज-
 श्रीसातकर्णिना सह] यज्ञैः इष्टम् । वर्णः (वर्णना) । अग्न्याधेयः यज्ञः
 दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः द्वादश १२ अश्वः च १ । अन्वारम्भणीयः यज्ञः दक्षिणा
 धेनु दक्षिणाः दत्ताः गावः ११०० हस्तिनः १०
 वंशयष्टयः २८६ कुम्भ्यः रौप्यमय्यः १७ रिको

यज्ञः दक्षिणाः दत्ताः गावः ११००० अश्वाः १००० प्रसर्पकः
 १२ ग्रामवरः १ दक्षिणा कार्षापिणानि २४४०० प्रसर्पकः
 कार्षापिणानि ६००१ राजसूयो यज्ञः . . . शकटं

Part II

धान्यगिरितंसप्रयुक्तं सत्पट्टम् १ अश्वः १ अश्वरथः १ गावीनां
 १०० । अश्वमेधो यज्ञः द्वितीयः इष्टः दक्षिणा दत्ता अश्वः रौप्यालङ्कारः १
 सुवर्णालङ्कारः १२ दक्षिणा दत्ता कार्षापिणानि १४००० ग्रामः १ हस्ती[?]
 दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः शकटं धान्यगिरितंसप्रयुक्तं १ ।
 . वायो यज्ञः १७ . . धेनु ? वायः
 सप्तदशा[तिरात्रः यज्ञः दक्षिणा दत्ता] १७
 प्रसर्पकः दत्तः दक्षिणा दत्ता १२
 अश्वः रौप्यालङ्कारः १ दक्षिणा कार्षापिणानि १०००० . . . २ . गावः
 २०००० । भगालदशरात्रो यज्ञः इष्टः दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १०००० ।
 गर्गातिरात्रो यज्ञः इष्टः दक्षिणा प्रसर्पकः पट्टानि ३०१ ।
 गवामयनं यज्ञः इष्टः दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११० १ । . . गावः ११००
 प्रसर्पकः कार्षापिणानि पट्टानि १०० । अप्तोर्यामो यज्ञः ।
 गवामयनं यज्ञः दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११०० । दक्षिणा
 दत्ता गावः ११०० । शतातिरात्रो यज्ञः १०० . . . ।
 यज्ञः दक्षिणा गावः ११०० । आङ्गिरसातिरात्रो यज्ञः इष्टः दक्षिणा
 गावः । . . . गावः १००२ छन्दोमपवमानातिरात्रिः
 [यज्ञः*] दक्षिणा गावः १००० । आङ्गिरसातिरात्रो यज्ञः इष्टः दक्षिणा
 । . . . रात्र इष्टः यज्ञः दक्षिणा दत्ता . . . । . . . त्रो
 यज्ञः इष्टः दक्षिणा । यज्ञः इष्टः दक्षिणा
 दत्ता गावः १००० । न स स्वयं, दक्षिणा

दत्ता गावः । अङ्गिरसामयनं षड्वर्ष
 दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १००० । दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः
 १००० । त्रयोदश त्रयोदशरात्रः अग्रच-
 दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः । दशरात्रः दत्ता गावः १०००० ।
 उ १०००० । द यज्ञः दक्षिणा दत्ता . . .
 दक्षिणा दत्ता ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

Salutations to the Lord of Creation, to Dharma, to Indra, and to Sankarshaṇa-Vāsudēva,¹ to the Moon and the Sun, and to the four protectors of the world Yama, Varuṇa, Kubēra and Vāsava².

Of the King Kumāra-vara **Vēdi-śrī**³.

Ritual offerings through the sacred fire were performed [in the company of Śrī-Śātakarṇi], with sweet-smelling (articles).

By [Nagannikā, the daughter-in-law] of the lord⁴ of the Southern tract, a warrior of unchallengeable authority . . . , the daughter of Mahārathi of the Āṅgika family, the wife of [Śātakarṇi]⁵, the foremost warrior in the earth surrounded by the oceans and mountains, the mother of **Vēdiśrī** and Śaktiśrī; the observer of monthly fasts, religious austerities in the household, abstinence, adept in observing pledges, vows related to sacrifices.

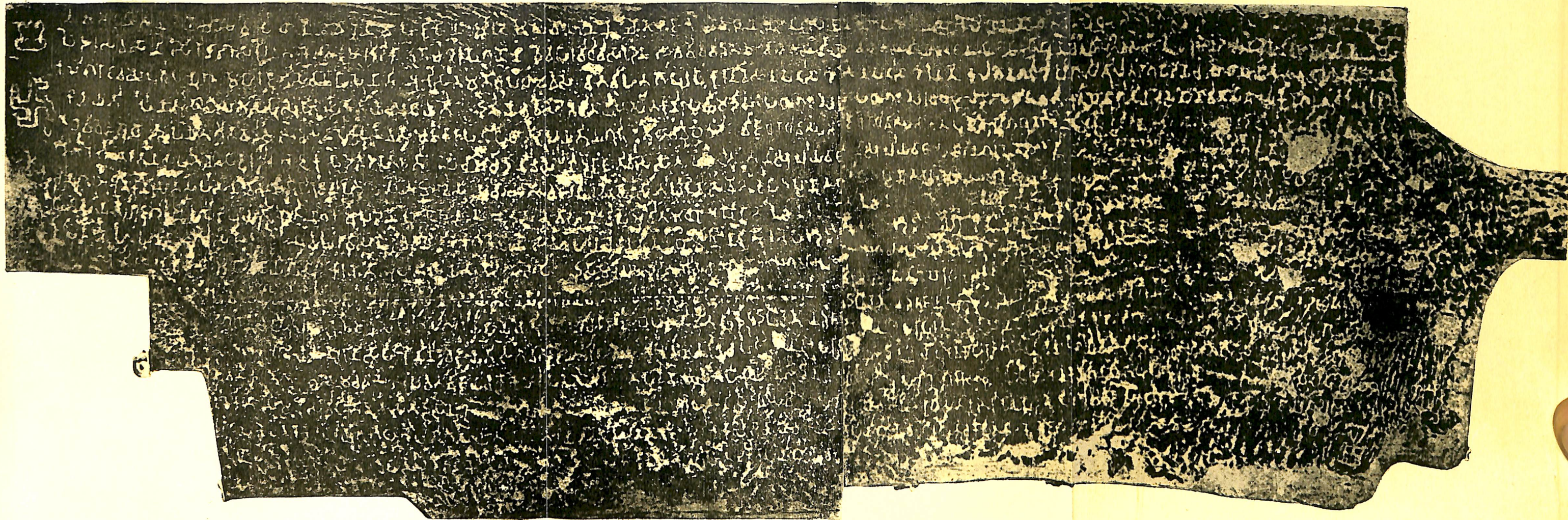
A description (of the sacrificial gifts)⁶

Agnyādhēya-Anvārambhaṇīya, Rājasūya, the second
 Aśvamēdha, Saptadaśātīrātra, Bhagāla-daśārātra,
 Garg-ātīrātra, Gavāmayana, Aptōryāma,
 Āṅgirasāmayana, Śat-ātīrātra, Āṅgiras-ātīrātra,
 Chhandōmapavamān-ātīrātra, Āṅgirasāmayana for six
 years, Trayōdaśārātra etc.

NOTES

1. These two refer to Balarāma and Kṛishṇa. See above No. 52.
2. Note that Dharma and Indra identified respectively with Yāma and Vāsava in later days are mentioned here separately, Yāma, Varuṇa, Kubēra and Vāsava are lords of regions in the south, west, north and east respectively.
3. This passage makes it appear that Vēdiśrī, Kumāravara i.e., the eldest son of Sātakarṇi and Nāgannikā, was the ruling king. See No. 65 where his name is not available. Kumāra-vara is understood to refer to Kārttikēya and to go in the previous paragraph by Mirashi (*JNSI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 14 ff. and *SIE*, Vol. III, 1976, pp. 86-90). The record proceeds to describe the role of Nāgannikā in assisting her husband Sātakarṇi to perform the sacrifices listed.
4. This is considered by Sircar to be a reference to Simuka, Sātakarṇi's father. This passage is in order, in giving Nāgannikā's relationship as a daughter-in-law, daughter, wife and mother.
5. We do not have any inscription of this Sātakarṇi. There is, however, one at Sāñchi in Madhya Pradesh which simply refers to Ānanda, a foreman of king Śrī-Sātakarṇi, making a gift of the top arch-stone of the south gate facing the great *stūpa*. It is possible that this is just a pilgrim's record. Mirashi holds that this is a record assignable to this Sātakarṇi himself (op. cit., pp. 3-4).
6. The offerings made on the occasions of these sacrifices are given in detail. Though the relevant sections of the inscription are mostly damaged, the available details suggest the immensity of value of the offerings: some of them are given below: Agnyādhēya—cows 12, horse 1; Second Aśvamēdha—horse 1 with silver and gold trappings, 14000 *Kārshāpanas*, village 1, elephant 1, . . . ; Bhagāla-daśarātra—cows 10000; and so on.

Overlap



No. 67



67. HĀTHĪGUMPHĀ CAVE INSCRIPTION OF KHĀRAVĒLA

<i>Date</i>	.. End of 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit resembling Pāli
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Khāravēla
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Mahāmēghavāhana—Chēdi
<i>Location</i>	.. Udayagiri hills, near Bhubaneswar, Puri Dist., Orissa.
<i>Reference</i>	.. D. C. Sircar, <i>Sel, Ins.</i> , I, p. 213, No. 91 and plate.

TEXT

नमो अरहंतानं¹ [I*] नमो सवसिधानं [II*] ऐरेण महाराजेन
महामेघवाहनेन चेतिराजवंसवधनेन पसथ-सुभलखनेन चतुरंतलुठ[ण]-
गुण उपितेन कलिंगाधिपतिना सिरिखारवेलेन पंदरसवसानि सीरिकडार-
सरीरवता क्रीडिता कुमारकीडिका ॥ ततो लेखरूपगणनाववहारविधि-
विसारदेन सवविजावदातेन नव वसानि योवरज पसासितं ॥ संपुणचतु-
वींसतिवसो तदानि वधमानसेसयो वेनाभिविजयो ततिये कलिगराजवसे
पुरिसयुगे महाराजाभिसेचनं पापुनाति ॥ अभिसितमतो च पधमे वसे
वातविहतगोपुरपाकारनिवेसनं पटिसंखारयति कलिगनगरिशिबिरं । सित-
लतडागपडियो च बंधापयति सवयानपटिसंथपनं च कारयति पनसि(ति)-
साहि सतसहसेहि पकतियो च रंजयति ॥ दुतिये च वसे अचितयिता सात-
कंनि पछिमदिसं ह्यगजनररधबहुलं दंडं पठापयति । कन्हूबेणां गताय च
सेनाय वितासिति असिकनगरं ॥ ततीये पुन वसे गंधववेदबुधो दपनत-
गीतवादितसंदसनाहि उसवसमाजकारापनाहि च कीडापयति नगरि ॥

तथा चवुथे वसे विजाधराधिवासं अहतपुवं कलिगपुवराज[निवेसितं]
 वितधमकुट च निखितछतभिगारे
 हितरतनसपतेये सवरठिकभोजके पादे वंदापयति ॥ पंचमे च दानी वसे
 नंदराजतिवससत-ओघाटितं तनसुलिय वाटा पणाडि नगरं पवेसयति सो
 । अभिसितो च [छठे वसे*] राजसूयं^२ संदंसयंतो सवकरवण-
 अनुगह-अनेकानि सतसहस्रानि विसजति पोरजानपदं ॥ सतमं च वसं
 पसासतो वजिरधर स मतुक पद कुम^३
 ॥ अठमे च वसे महता सेना
 गोरधगिरं घातापयिता राजगहं उपपीडयति । एतिना
 च कंमपदानसंनादेन सेनवाहने विपमुचितुं मधुरं अपयातो
 यवनराज डिमित ? यछति पलव . . .
 कपरुखे ह्यगजरथसह यति सवधरावास सवगहणं
 च कारयितुं ब्रह्माणं जयपरिहारं ददाति ॥ अरहतः . . . [नवमे च
 वसे*] महाविजयपासादं कारयति अठतिसाय सत-
 सहसेहि ॥ दसमे च वसे दंडसंधी सामगयो ? भरधवसपठानं महीजयनं . . .
 कारापयति ॥ [एकादसमे च वसे*] पायातानं च
 मनिरतनानि उपलभते ॥ पुवं राजनिवेसितं पीथुंडं गदभ-
 नंगलेन कासयति । जनपदभावनं च तेरस वससतकतं भिदति त्रमिरदह-
 संधातं । बारसमे च वसे [सह]सेहि वितासयति
 उत्तरापधराजानो मागधानं च विपुलं भयं जनेतो
 हथसं गंगाय पाययति । मागधं च राजानं बहसतिमितं पादे वंदापयति ।
 नंदराजनीतं च कार्लिगजिनं संनिवेस अंगमगधवसुं च
 नयति ॥ कतुं जठरलखिलगोपुराणि सिंहाराणि
 निवेसयति सतविसिकनं परिहारेहि । अभुतमछरियं च हथो निवास
 परिहर ह्यहथिरतन[मानिकं] पंडराजा
 मृतमनिरतनानि आहरापयति इध सतसहस्रानि सिनो

वसीकरोति । तेरसमे च वसे सुपवतविजयचके कुमारीपवते अरहते[हि*]
 पखिनसंसितेहि कायनिसीदियाय यापूजावकेहि राजभित्तिनि चिनवतानि
 वासासितानि पूंजानुरत-उवासग-खारवेलसिरिना जीवदेह[सयि]का
 परिखाता ॥ सकतसमण सुविहितानं च सबदिसानं
 अनिनं ? तपसि-इसिन संधियानं अरहतनिसीदियासमीपे पाभारे वराकार-
 समुथापिताहि अनेकयोजनाहिताहि
 सिलाहि चतरे च वेडुरियगभे थंभे पतिठापयति
 पानतरीयसतसहसेहि । मुखियकलवोछिनं च चोयठि-अंग संतिकं तुरीयं
 उपादयति । खेमराजा स वढराजा स भिखुराजा धमराजा पसंतो सुनंतो
 अनुभवतो कलानानि गुणविसेसकुसलो सवपा-
 संडपूजको सवदेवायतनसकारकारको अपतिहतचकवाहनवलो चकधरो
 गुतचको पवतचको राजसिवसूकुलविनिश्चितो महाविजयो राजा खारवे-
 लसिरि ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

नमः अर्हद्भ्यः । नमः सर्वसिद्धेभ्यः । आर्येण महाराजेन महामेघ-
 वाहनेन चेदिराजवंशवर्द्धनेन प्रशस्तशुभलक्षणेन चतुरन्तलुण्ठनगुणोपेतेन
 कलिङ्गाधिपतिना श्रीखारवेलेन पञ्चदशवर्षाणि श्रीकडारशरीरवता
 क्रीडिता कुमारक्रीडिका । ततः लेखरूपगणनाव्यवहारविधिविशारदेन-
 सर्वविद्यावदातेन नववर्षाणि यौवराज्यं प्रशासितम् । सम्पूर्णचतुर्विंशतिवर्षः
 तदानीं वर्द्धमानशैशवे वेनाभिविजयः तृतीये कलिङ्गराजवंशे पुरुषयुगे
 महाराजाभिषेचनं प्राप्नोति । अभिषिक्तवांश्च प्रथमे वर्षे वातविहतगो-
 पुरप्राकारनिवेशनं प्रतिसंस्कारयति कलिङ्गनगरीशिविरम् । शीतलतडा-
 गपालीः च बन्धयति सर्वोद्यानप्रतिसंस्थापनं च कारयति पञ्चत्रिंशता
 शतसहस्रैः प्रकृतीश्च रञ्जयति । द्वितीये च वर्षे अचिन्तयित्वा सातकर्णि
 पश्चिमदिशं ह्यगजनररथवहुलं दण्डं प्रस्थापयति; कृष्णवेणीं गतया च

सेनया वित्तासयति ऋषिकनगरम् । तृतीये पुनः वर्षे गान्धर्ववेदबुधः दर्प-
नृत्यगीतवादित्वसन्दर्शनैः उत्सवसमाजकारणैः च क्रीडयति नगरीम् ।
तथा चतुर्थे वर्षे विद्याधराधिवासम् अहतपूर्वं कलिङ्गपूर्वराजनिवेशितं
. वितथमकुट च निक्षिप्तच्छत्र-
भृङ्गारं हृतरत्नसम्पत्तिकं सर्वराष्ट्रिकभोजकं पादौ वन्दयति । पञ्चमे च
इदानीं वर्षे नन्दराजत्रिवर्षशतोद्धाटितां तनसुल्याः वाटात् प्रणालीं नगरं
प्रवेशयति । अभिषिक्तश्च षष्ठे वर्षे राजसूयं सन्दर्शयन्
सर्वाकारवर्णानुग्रहानेकानि शतसहस्राणि विसृजति पौरजानपदम् ।
सप्तमं च वर्षं प्रशासत् वयिरघर अष्टमे
च वर्षे महता सेना गोरथगिरिं घातयित्वा राजगृहम्
उपपीडयति । एतेन कर्मपिदानसंतादेन सेनावाहनं
विप्रमोक्तुं मथुराम् अपयातः यवनराजः डिमितः ? यच्छति
. पल्लव कल्पवृक्षः हयगजरथैः सह याति सर्वगृहावासं
. सर्वग्रहणं च कारयितुं ब्राह्मणेभ्यः जयपरिहारं
ददाति । अर्हतः । [नवमे च वर्षे राजसन्निवासं] महा-
विजयप्रासादं कारयति अष्टत्रिंशता शतसहस्रैः । दशमे च वर्षे दण्ड-
सन्धिसाममयः भारतवर्षप्रस्थानां महीजयन कारयति ।
एकादशे च वर्षे अपयातानां च मणिरत्नानि
उपलभते । पूर्वं राजनिवेशितं पीथुण्डं गर्दभलाङ्गलेन कर्षयति ।
जनपदभावनं च त्रयोदशवर्षशतकृतं भिनत्ति द्रमिरहदसङ्घातम् ।

द्वादशे च वर्षे सहस्रैः वित्तासयति उत्तरापथ-
राजान् मागधानां च विपुलं भयं जनयन् हस्त्यश्वं
गङ्गायां पाययति । मागधं च राजानं बृहस्पतिमित्रं पादौ वन्दयति । नन्द-
राजनीतं च कलिङ्गजिनं सन्निवेश अङ्गमगधवसुं च
आनयति । कर्तुं जठरलक्ष्मीलगोपुराणि शिखराणि निवेशयति
शतवैश्मिकानां परिहारैः । अद्भुतमाश्चर्यं च हस्तिनिवासं परिहरति

. हयहस्तिरत्नमाणिक्यम् । पाण्ड्यराजात्
 मुक्तामणिरत्नानि आहारयति इह शतसहस्राणि
 वासिनः वशीकरोति । त्रयोदशे च वर्षे सुप्रवृत्तविजयचक्रे कुमारीपर्वते
 अर्हद्भ्यः प्रक्षीणसंश्रितेभ्यः कायनिषद्यायै यापोद्यापकेभ्यः राजभृतानां
 चीर्णव्रतानां वर्षाश्रितानां पूजानुरक्तोपासकखारवेलश्रिया जीवदेहाश्रयिकाः
 परिखानिताः । सत्कृतश्रमणः सुविहितानां च सर्व-
 दिशानां ज्ञानिनां तपस्विऋषीणां सङ्घीयानां अर्हन्निषद्यासमीपे प्राग्भारे
 वराकारसमुत्थापिताभिः अनेकयोजनाहताभिः
 शिलाभिः चत्वरं च वैडूर्यगर्भं स्तम्भं प्रतिष्ठापयति
 पञ्चोत्तरशतसहस्रैः । मुख्यकलावच्छिन्नं च चतुष्पष्टचङ्गं शान्तिकं तौर्यं
 उत्पादयति । क्षेमराजः स वृद्धराजः स भिक्षुराजः धर्मराजः पश्यन् शृण्वन्
 अनुभवन् कल्याणानि गुणविशेषकुशलः सर्वपाण्डपूजकः
 सर्वदेवायतनसंस्कारकारकः अप्रतिहतचक्रवाहिनीबलः चक्रधरः गुप्तचक्रः
 प्रवृत्तचक्रः राजार्षिवसुकुलविनिस्सृतः महाविजयः राजा खारवेलश्रीः ॥

SUMMARY

Salutations to the fully realised beings and to all the perfect ones.

Śrī Mahāmēghavāhana Khāravēla, the tawny-coloured person with excellent features, and virtues, making him famous, the Aira⁴ emperor born of the Chēdi dynasty and the lord of Kalinga, with a body ruddy and handsome spent fifteen years in juvenile sports having mastered the arts of correspondence, currency, finance, civil and religious laws, he held the position of crown prince for nine years. On the completion of twentyfour years (of age), being prosperous since infancy destined to be successful as Vēna⁵, he gets⁶, consecrated as the emperor in the third dynasty of the Kalinga kings⁷.

In the first year soon after his coronation he rejuvenated the entire campus of Kalinganagara⁸ along with its storm battered

gatetowers, enclosing walls and buildings. All the gardens were restored. He gratified the subjects by spending thirty five lakhs (of money).

In the **second** year ignoring Sātakarṇi⁹ he sent his army to the west and shattered the city of Asika on the banks of the Kṛishṇa-vēṇī (i.e. Kṛishṇā).

In the **third** year he, being versed in music, entertained the city (Kaliṅganagara) and its festive gatherings with sports of wrestling (or comics), dance and music, vocal and instrumental.

In the **fourth** year . . . the governors and the lords were made to bow before him, having been shorn of all their lordly paraphernalia.¹⁰

In the **fifth** year he arranged to let into the city, a canal from the locality of Tanasuli excavated three hundred years ago by the king Nanda.¹¹

In the **sixth** year in the course of performing the Rājasūya he gave up wealth in hundreds—thousands and other privileges in favour of various classes of citizens.

In the **seventh** year¹²

In the **eighth** year he pressed on the city of Rājagṛiha¹³ after sacking Gōrathagiri with a large army. On learning about the advance of his success arising out of this action the Greek king, Dimita¹⁴ retreated to Mathurā with a view to save himself and his army. He granted exemption to Brāhmaṇas (from taxes) on his triumphant return, like a wish-fulfilling tree.

He built in the **ninth** year a big palace (called) Mahāvijaya at the cost of thirty eight lakhs.

In the **tenth** year the king absorbed in following the policy of chastisement, alliance and conciliation set out on an expedition against kings of Bhāratavarsha.

In the **eleventh** year he secured riches made of jewels and precious things. He ploughed up the town of Pithuṇḍa¹⁵ founded by a former king with a team of asses. He also broke up the confederacy of the Draviḍa countries which had lasted for one hundred and thirteen years posing a danger to the people.¹⁶

In the **twelfth** year he terrified the kings of the Northern tracts. Creating terror in the minds of the Māgadhas he caused their elephants to fall into the river Gaṅgā. He made Bṛhaspatimitra,¹⁷ the king of the Māgadhas bow at his feet. He restored back the (image of) Kalinga Jina carried away by the king Nanda and also brought wealth from Aṅga and Magadha countries. He built excellent towers with strong and beautiful tops and settled hundreds of architects. He raised, most wonderfully, a stockade of elephants. He exacted a tribute of hundreds of thousands of pearls and jewels from the Pāṇḍya king . . .

In the **thirteenth** year several caverns at the Kumārī hills sanctified by pure conduct (of Mahāvīra) were excavated by this same king Khāravēlaśrī, the lay devotee interested in worship, for the use of Jaina saintly preachers observing vows and seeking rest in the rainy season. A pillar inlaid with beryl was set up in front of and near the resting place of the ascetics and sages with stones brought from distant places He caused to be displayed the prominent arts with their sixtyfour divisions.

King Khāravēlaśrī, the king of peace, the king of prosperity, the king among monks, the pious king seeing, hearing and realising the pleasant . . . accomplished in extraordinary virtues, revering other religionists, renovator of all temples, one who was born in the lineage of the royal saint Vasu,¹⁸ and the great conqueror.

NOTES

1. Crude carvings of *Śrīvatsa* and *Svastika* are found on the margin to the left of lines 2, 4 and 5.

2. Sircar reads *rājasēyam* and interprets it as *rājaiśvaryam*. Khāravēla, though a Jain, might have performed a symbolic ceremony of Rājasūya, as a token of overlordship.

3. See note 8 below.

4. Only four kings of this family are known to us. Besides this king, Vakradēva his immediate successor (No. 69 below), Aira Mānasada from an inscription at Vēlpūru, Guntur District *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, p. 82) in the 2nd century A.D., and Sada from Guntupalle inscription (No. 101 below) also in the 2nd century A.D., seem to have belonged to this family. The extent of their kingdom is indicated only by the provenance of their inscriptions, one for each.

5. He is a mythological king who is said to have been irreligious and to have caused disrespect to the Vēdas and sacred observances (*Manusmṛiti*, vii, 41; ix, 66, 67).

6. The text uses the present tense in this and all other cases of finite verbs in this inscription. But we have used the past tense in the following lines. The use of the present tense seems to suggest that the narration of events was meant to serve as labels for a series of sculptures depicting them which was possibly planned but never carried out. Compare the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple sculptures of the 8th century A.D. at Kāñchīpuram which have labels using the present tense. (*Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 63, pp. 51f and plates).

7. This passage has been also interpreted as the third in the dynasty of Kalinga Kings.

8. Kalinganagara is probably Kalingapatnam in Ganjam District in Orissa.

9. He is identical with the Sātavāhana king of the same name mentioned in the Nānēghāṭ label inscriptions and the inscription of Nāgannikā (Nos. 65 and 66 above). See Sircar *loc.cit.*, p. 215, n. 1.

10. There seems to be reference, in the damaged portion at the beginning, to something re-installed (?) at a place called Vidyādhara, which had been set up by the former kings of Kālīṅga.

11. King Nanda was a king of a dynasty of the same name who ruled Pāṭaliputra (Patna in Bihar) in about 326 B.C. It is possible to interpret the expression relating to the years also as one hundred and three. But palaeography may not agree. See note 16 below.

12. There is a reference to Vajiraghara which is perhaps the same as Wairagarh in Chanda District in Madhya Pradesh.

13. It is Rajgir, the ancient capital of Magadha (South Bihar).

14. Dimita was probably a later Indo-greek ruler of Eastern Punjab.

15. This Pithuṇḍa is near Masulipatnam in Andhra Pradesh.

16. The meaning of one thousand three hundred years is possible but historically improbable. See note 11 above.

17. See No. 57 above for an inscription mentioning this king.

18. Vasu is said to be a prince of the Chēdi family who was also known as Upari-chara i.e. one who is capable of flying in the atmosphere (*Mahābhārata*, Ādiparva, chapter No. 63).

68. INSCRIPTION OF KHĀRAVĒLA'S QUEEN

<i>Date</i>	.. End of the 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmi
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Khāravēla's Queen/Khāravēla
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Chēdi Mahāmēghavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Manchapuri cave, upper storey, Udayagiri Hills, Orissa.
<i>Reference</i>	.. R. D. Banerji, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XIII, p. 159 and plate

TEXT

अरहंतपसादाय कालिगानं समनानं लेणं कारितं राजिनो लला-
कस हृत्सिहस पपोतस धुतुया¹ कलिगचकवतिनो सिरि खारवेलस अग-
महिसिया कारितं ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

अर्हत्प्रसादाय कालिङ्गेभ्यः श्रमणेभ्यः लयनं कारितम् राज्ञः लाला-
कस्य हृत्सिंहस्य प्रपौत्रस्य दुहित्वा कलिङ्गचक्रवर्तिनः श्रीखारवेलस्य
अग्रमहिष्या कारितम् ॥

SUMMARY

The Chief queen of Khāravēla, the Kalinga emperor, the daughter of the king Lālāka, who was the great-grandson of Hasti-siṃha² excavated (this) cave to please Arhat (Mahāvīra) for the use of Jaina ascetics of Kalinga.

NOTES

1. Original reads *dhutunā*.
2. From Sircar's reading (*Sel. Ins.*, I, No. 92, pp. 221-2). Banerji reads Hastisāha and considers Lālāka as his great grandson and the queen as Lālāka's daughter. Sircar considers Lālārka, as made out by him, as the father or ancestor of Hastisimha.

69. MANCHAPURI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF VAKRADĒVA

<i>Date</i>	.. End of the 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Vakradēva
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Chēdi Mahāmēghavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Manchapuri Caves, upper storey (near another doorway), Udayagiri Hills, Orissa.
<i>Reference</i>	.. R. D. Banerji, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XIII, p. 160.

TEXT

ऐरस महाराजस कलिगाधिपतिनो
माहामेघवाहनस वक्रदेपसीरीनो लेणं ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

आर्यस्य महाराजस्य कलिङ्गाधिपतेः
महामेघवाहनस्य वक्रदेवश्रियः लयनम् ॥

SUMMARY

(This is the) cave (excavated) by Aira¹ Mahārāja Mahāmēghavāhana **Vakradēva**², the lord of Kaliṅga.

NOTES

1. See No. 67 above, note 1.
2. Reading from Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, I, No. 93, p. 222. Banerji reads Kūḍēpa.

70. KOSAM STONE INSCRIPTION OF GAUPTĪPUTRA

<i>Date</i>	.. End of the 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Gauptīputra
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone-slab, Masharfa near Kosam, Allaha- bad Dist., U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 10A, p. 97.

TEXT

नमो भगवते सथवाहस मानिभदस गृहपतिकस एजावतिपुतस
वारिस पुतो गृहपतिको सेलियापुतो कुसपालो नामा तस पुतेन गृहपतिकेन
गोतिपुतेन अशिकायं कारिता वेदिका । पियतं भगवा ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

नमो भगवते । सार्थवाहस्य माणिभद्रस्य गृहपतिकस्य एजावती-
पुत्रस्य वारिणः पुत्रः गृहपतिकः शैलिकापुत्रः कुशपालनामा । तस्य पुत्रेण
गृहपतिकेन गौप्तीपुत्रेण आशिमका कारिता वेदिका । प्रीयतां भगवान् ॥

SUMMARY

Salutation to the supreme being (*bhagavān*)!

[There was] Kuśapāla, a householder, son of Sēliyā and Vāri, the caravan-merchant who was the son of Ejāvatī and a votary of Maṇibhadra¹.

His son **Gauptīputra**², a householder made this stone³ platform (*aśikā*).

May [The supreme being be pleased].

NOTES

1. Sircar corrects Māṇibhadasa as Māṇibhadrāya and treats this section as expressing salutations to Maṇibhadra, the brother of Kubēra, the king of the Yakshas and the tutelary deity of travellers and merchants. Sahni (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVIII, p. 159, f.n. 1), interprets that Māṇibhadra is a devotee of Maṇibhadra.

2. We may note that the donor is mentioned only as Gaup̥tīputra which is only a metronymic and not a proper name (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 159, note 3).

3. Sahni's interpretation is followed here in preference to Sircar's, which treats *Aśikā* as the old name of Masharfa, the findspot of the inscription.

71. INSCRIPTION OF SŪRYAMITRA

<i>Date</i>	.. End of the 1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmi
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Yaśaka/Sūryamitra
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone (from Mathurā), National Museum, New Delhi
<i>Reference</i>	.. S. P. Tewari, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XL, pp. 165ff and plate.

TEXT

रंजो गोपाल्यापुत्रस सूयमित्रस पीठमदन क पीठमद
काशीपुत्रयशकेन कारितं ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

राज्ञः गोपाल्याः पुत्रस्य सूर्यमित्रस्य पीठमर्देन क
पीठमर्दकाशीपुत्रयशकेन कारितम् ॥

SUMMARY

[This stone] is made (and donated) by Kāśīputra¹ Yaśaka, the companion (*pīṭhamarda*)² of King Sūryamitra, the son of Gōpālī.³

NOTES

1. It is possibly a mistake for Kautsīputra
2. *Pīṭhamarda* found used in the *Mahābhārata* and in classical literature is met with here for the first time. It is the name given to persons who are well-versed in fine arts and who were in the company of royal personages along with court jesters (*viṣa* and *vidūshaka*)
3. See No. 57 where another person is also described as the son of Gōpālī.

72. COPING STONE INSCRIPTION OF A PĀÑCHĀLA KING

<i>Date</i>	.. Year 1/1st century B.C.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Pāñchāla
<i>Location</i>	.. Mathura, now in State Museum, Lucknow, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Lüders, <i>Mathura Inscriptions</i> , Ed. K. L. Janert, No. 162, and plate.

TEXT

नमो भगव रो[प]घरा र्षे प्रथ[मे]¹
दिवसे १० १ [न or नि]मित्तस्य प्र[पौत्रेण]
पौत्रेण शौ भार्गवीपुत्रेण सु पांचालीये
स्थितेन हाति कायां पतितः इतः स्थितेन

SUMMARY

Salutations to the supreme

On the 11th day in the in the first year of

(An object was set up) by the son of a lady of Bhārgava (lineage), the grandson of . . . the great-grandson of (Anamitra, Phalgunimitra, or Agnimitra)² for the merit of (a person) belonging to Pāñchāla.³

NOTES

1. The year one (*prathama*) is regnal.
2. This name has been read as [Dhru*] [va]mitra by R.D. Banerji (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 107-08) and also by Lüders (op. cit). But the letter read as *va* exposes only a portion of the lower horizontal stroke, making the letter look like *na*, aligning with the base line of all the letters, thus suggesting the possibility of one of the three names mentioned here. The person described here evidently, belongs to the line of the kings of Pāñchāla known only from coins. Contra, Bela Lahiri, *Indigenous States of Northern India* (Circa 200 B.C. to 320 A.D.) 1974, pp. 170-188, where the discussion is based on the reading Dhruvamitra.

This is one of the very few inscriptions of the Pre-Kushāṇa period in Northern India. However numerous coins of a host of kings whose genealogy and chronology cannot be precisely given are reported from Northern India. See Bela Lahiri, op. cit.

3. Pāñchāla roughly corresponds to Bareilly, Badaun, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of Rohilkhand and the central doab in Uttar Pradesh (ibid).

73. INSCRIPTION OF BHĀRA BHAGADATTA

<i>Date</i>	.. c. A.D. 1
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Bhagadatta
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Bhāraśiva
<i>Location</i>	.. Slab, Pauni, Bhandara District, Maharashtra.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Mirashi, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXIV, pp. 11-14 and plate.

TEXT

भाररायस भगदत्तस पाजुगापटी ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

भारराजस्य भगदत्तस्य पादुकापट्टी ।

SUMMARY

Slab¹ with foot-prints by Bhagadatta, king of the Bhāra² (clan).

NOTES

1. The inscribed slab does not contain foot-prints. Probably they were set up in a shrine, now not extant, in the locality. It is difficult to say whose foot-prints are being referred to. Mirashi suggests that the Prākṛit language of the inscription points to the possibility that they were foot-prints of the Buddha.

2. The Bhāras are called Bhāraśivas in later records (*ibid.*, p. 13).

74. AYŌDHYĀ INSCRIPTION OF DHANADĒVA

<i>Date</i>	.. Beginning of the 1st century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Dhanadēva
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Ayōdhyā, Fyzabad District, Uttar Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, p. 94, No. 9.

TEXT

कोसलाधिपेन द्विरश्वमेधयाजिनः सेनापतेः पुष्यमित्रात्¹ षष्ठेन
कौशिकीपुत्रेण धन[देवेन]² धर्मराजेन³ पितुः फल्गुदेवस्य केतनं⁴ कारितं ॥

SUMMARY

A shrine (or memorial in honour of) his father Phalgudēva was erected by **Dhanadēva**, the righteous king, the lord of Kōsala, a Kauśikīputra⁵, the sixth (in descent) from *Sēnāpati* Pushyamitra⁶, the performer of the *Aśvamēdha* twice.

NOTES

1. Original reads पुष्यमित्रस्य
2. This name is restored on the basis of his father's name फल्गुदेव in preference to धनदत्तेन, धनदासेन etc.
3. Original reads धर्मराज्ञा
4. for निकेतनं
5. This means 'the son of a lady of the spiritual lineage from Kauśika.'
6. Referred to also in *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* as *Sēnāpati*. For information on Pushyamitra see No. 51 above.

75. TABLET INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ŚŌDĀSA

<i>Date</i>	.. Year 72=A.D. 15
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Pālaghōsha, Praushthaghōsha and Dhana-ghōsha/Śōdāsa
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Scytho-Parthian
<i>Location</i>	.. Kaṅkāli Tīlā at Mathura, Mathura District, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 25, p. 120.

TEXT

नमो अरहतो वर्धमानस । स्वामिस महाक्षत्रपस शोडासस संवत्सरे
७० २ हेमंतमासे २ दिवसे ६ हरितिपुत्रस पालस भयाये समनसाविकाये
कोछिये अमोहिनिये सहा पुत्रेहि पालघोषेन पोठघोषेन धनघोषेन आर्यवति
प्रतिस्थापिता । प्रियं आयवति अरहत पूजाये ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

नमः अर्हते वर्धमानस्य (°नाय) । स्वामिनः महाक्षत्रपस्य शोडा-
सस्य संवत्सरे ७२ हेमंतमासे २ दिवसे ६ हारितीपुत्रस्य पालस्य भार्यया
श्रमणश्राविकया कौत्स्या अमोहिन्या सह पुत्रैः पालघोषेण प्रौष्ठघोषेण
धनघोषेण आर्यवती प्रतिष्ठापिता । प्रीय[तां भगवती] आर्यवती अर्हत-
पूजायै ॥

SUMMARY

Salutations to Arhat¹ Vardhamāna²

On the 9th day in the 2nd month of the winter (Hēmanta season)³ in the year 72⁴ (in the reign of) lord Mahākshatrapa Śōdāsa⁵.

This sculptured tablet was installed by Kautsi⁶ Amōhinī, the wife of Hāritiputra⁶ Pāla and a female lay disciple of a (Jaina) monk, along with her sons **Pālaghōsha**, **Praushthaghōsha** and **Dhanaghōsha**.

May the supreme Āryavatī⁷ be pleased!

(This) tablet (is) for the worship of the Arhat.

NOTES

1. One who is all-knowing, who has subdued the bad qualities of desire, anger etc., and who is the most revered of all.
2. The actual founder of Jainism.
3. The year of those times was divided into three seasons *grīshma* (summer), *varshā* (rainy) and *hēmanta* (winter) each lasting for four months.
4. This is fixed in the era called Scytho-Parthian era which is identified with Vikrama era of 58 B.C.
5. Śōḍāsa was also called Śōṇḍāsa. Both he and his father Rājūvula (Rañjuvula) were called Mahākshatrapa. They ruled over an undefined region around Mathurā in Uttar Pradesh. Kshatrapa means a ruler of a particular area. Mahākshatrapa is a senior ruler. The two terms are comparable to chief and king, or king and emperor.
6. These two are metronymics or the spiritual lineage of their mother.
7. The slab containing the figure of Ārya i.e., Arhat is called Āryavatī.

76. MATHURĀ (MŌRĀ) WELL INSCRIPTION OF ŚŌḍĀSA

<i>Date</i>	.. 10-25 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit (with Prākṛit in the epithets only)
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Rājūvula's son ŚŌḍāsa
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Scytho-Parthian
<i>Location</i>	.. Slab in a well at Mōrā near Mathurā, Mathura Museum, Mathura Dist., Uttar Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. Lūders, <i>Mathurā Inscriptions</i> , No. 113, p. 154 and plate.

TEXT

卐 महक्षत्रपस राजूवुलस पुत्रस स्वामि[स्य¹ महाक्षत्रपस्य शोडासस्य
संवत्सरे . . .] भगवतां वृष्णीनां पंचवीराणां प्रतिमाः शैलदेव-
गृहे स्थापिताः]
यस्तोषायाः शैलं श्रीमद्गृहमतुलमुदध(धि)समधारं² . . .
. आचदिशां शैलां पंच ज्वलत इव परमवपुषा
.
.

SUMMARY

In the year³ of ŚŌḍāsa, the lord Mahākshatrapa, son of Mahākshatrapa Rājūvula.

The images of the supreme five heroes⁴ belonging to Vṛishṇi (family) are installed in the stone temple.

The illustrious and matchless stone-house of (built by) Tōshā
 a reservoir with flow of water equalling the ocean . . . the
 five sparkling stone images of (the heroes) with great beauty

NOTES

1. महाक्षत्रपस्य राजुबुलस्य पुत्रस्य स्वामिनः in Sanskrit.
 2. This verse is in *Bhujāṅgavijrīmbhita* metre. This is the earliest known instance of the use of a classical metre in Sanskrit Epigraphy.
 3. In view of the loss of date in this portion, this inscription is assigned to a period between 10 and 25 A.D., on the basis of the preceding inscription of ŚŌḌĀsa with a date.
 4. The five heroes were Saṅkarshaṇa, Vāsudēva (Kṛishṇa), Pradyumna, Sāmba and Aniruddha (*Vāyupurāṇa*, LXXIX, 1-2). The third and the fourth were Kṛishṇa's sons and the fifth was his grandson born of the third. They were deified as heroes on account of their association with Kṛishṇa in his mission. See, however, Lüders (*op.cit.*) where he concludes, on the basis of some Jaina scriptures, that the five heroes were Baladēva, Akrūra, Anādhṛṣṭi, Sāraṇa and Vidūratha.
-

77. STONE-SLAB INSCRIPTION OF MŪLAVASU

<i>Date</i>	.. 10-25 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. [Mūlavasu]/Śōḍāsa
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Scytho-Parthian
<i>Location</i>	.. Jamālpur Mound at Mathurā, Mathura District, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Lüders, <i>Mathurā Inscriptions</i> , No. 64, p. 99 and plate.

TEXT

स्वामिस्य महाक्षत्रपस्य शौंडासस्य गंजवरेण ब्राह्मणेन शैग्रवस-
गोत्रेण पुष्करणि इमाषां यमडपुष्करणीनं पश्चिमा पुष्करणि उदपानो
आरामो स्तम्भो इमो शिलापट्टो च . . .

TEXT SANSKRITISED

स्वामिनः महाक्षत्रपस्य शौंडासस्य गञ्जवरेण ब्राह्मणेन शैग्रवस-
गोत्रेण पुष्करिणी आभ्यां यमलपुष्करिणीभ्यां पश्चिमा पुष्करिणी उदपानः
आरामः स्तम्भः अयं शिलापट्टः च [कारिताः¹] ॥

SUMMARY

The western tank of the two tanks, a reservoir, a grove,
a pillar and the stone-slab¹ [were made (contributed)] by a

brāhmaṇa² of the Śaigraṇa-gōtra, treasurer of Svāmi Śōḍāsa, a Mahākshatrapa.

NOTES

1. There is one other inscription from Māt on the pedestal of a colossal image of a Kushāṇa king recording similar contribution of tank, reservoir, grove etc. The name of the donor is not clear. The king's name is read doubtfully as Vēma who is identified with Vima Kadphises (See *Mathura Inscriptions*, Lüders, Ed. K. L. Janert, No. 98, pp. 134-5 and plate).

2. The name of the person is not given in this inscription. His name is evidently Mūlavasu as stated in the inscription No. 78.

78. SCULPTURE INSCRIPTION OF PĀKSHAKĀ

<i>Date</i>	.. 10-25 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Pākshakā/Śōḍāsa
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Scytho-Parthian
<i>Location</i>	.. Mathura Museum, Mathurā, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. R.C. Sharma, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XL, pp. 171 ff. and plate.

TEXT

स्वामिस्य महाक्षत्रपस्य शूंडासस्य गांजवरस्य ब्राह्मणस्य शैग्रवस-
गोत्रस्य मूलवसुस्य भार्ययि वसुस्य मातरे कौशिकिये पाक्षकाये कारिता
पुष्करिणी इमाषां यमडपुष्करणीनां पुर्वा पुष्करणी आरामो सभा उदपानो
स्तम्भो शिरिये प्रतिमाये शिलापट्टा च ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

स्वामिनः महाक्षत्रपस्य शूंडासस्य गांजवरस्य ब्राह्मणस्य शैग्रव-
सगोत्रस्य मूलवसोः भार्यया वसोः माता कौशिक्या पाक्षक्या कारिताः
पुष्करिणी आभ्यां यमलपुष्करिणीभ्यां पूर्वा पुष्करिणी आरामः सभा
उदपानः स्तम्भः श्रियः प्रतिमायाः शिलापट्टः च ॥

SUMMARY

The eastern tank of the two tanks, a grove, a hall, a reservoir, a pillar and a stone-slab (bearing a) sculpture of Śrī (Lakshmi)¹, were



contributed by Kauśikī² **Pākshakā**, the wife of the brāhmaṇa Mūlavasu, the treasurer (*gāñjavara*)³ of lord Mahākshatrapa Śōḍāsa, and the mother of Vasu.⁴

NOTES

1. This inscribed stone bears a sculptural representation of the Śrīvatsa symbol representing the goddess Lakshmī, the consort of Viṣṇu.
2. i.e., of the Kauśika lineage.
3. This is a Persian word same as *gāñjavara* (No. 77).
4. See No. 79 for the construction of a temple for Vāsudēva by Vasu.

79. MATHURĀ DOOR-JAMB INSCRIPTION OF VASU

Date	.. 10-25 A.D.
Script	.. Brāhmī
Language	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
Donor/King	.. Śōḍāsa
Dynasty	.. Scytho-Parthian
Location	.. Mathura (Museum), Mathura District, U.P.
Reference	.. Lüders, <i>Mathurā Inscriptions</i> , No. 115, p. 155 and plate.

TEXT

वसुना¹ भगवतो वासुदेवस्य महास्थान[के देवकु]²लं तोरणं
वे[दिका च प्रति²]ष्ठापितं । प्रीतो भ[गवान् वासु]²देवः स्वामिस्य
महाक्षत्रपस्य शोडसा[स्य शासनं]² संवर्तयतां ॥

SUMMARY

.....

A temple, an arched entrance and a railing³ were set up at the great place of *bhagavān Vāsudēva* by *Vasu*⁴ . . .

May *bhagavān Vāsudēva*, being pleased, increase the reign of *svāmi Mahākshatrapa Śōḍāsa*.

NOTES

1. The first half of the inscription is damaged.
 2. The portion in brackets are as restored by Sircar, *S.I.*, p. 123.
 3. The stone was possibly a part of door-jamb which was made out of a square pillar forming part of the original construction.
 4. He is evidently the person of the same name whose mother *Pākshakā* makes a gift as in No. 78 above.
-

80 TAXILA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	.. [Vikrama] year 78 : A.D. 21
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshṭhī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Patika/Moga (Maues)
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka
<i>Location</i>	.. Thupkia near Taxila, Rawalpindi District, Pakistan now in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sten Konow, <i>C.I.I.</i> , II, i, p. 28 and plate.

TEXT

First Side

संवत्सरये अठसततिमए २० २० २० १० ४ ४ महरयस महंतस
मोगस प[न*]मस मसस दिवसे पंचमे ४ १ एतये पुवये क्षहरस चुक्सस च
क्षत्रपस लिअको कुसुलुको नम । तस पुत्रो पति[को*] तखशिलये नगरे ।
उतरेण प्रचुदेशो क्षेम नम । अत्र [दे*]शे **पतिको** अप्रतिठवित भगवत
शकमुनिस शरिरं [प्र*]तिथवेति संघरमं च सर्वबुधन पुयए मतपितरं
पुययंतो क्षत्रपस सपुत्रदरस अयुबलवर्धिण भ्रतर सर्व च [अतिग]धवस
च पुययंतो महदनपति पतिक सज उवझए[न*] रोहिणिमित्रेण । य इममि
संघरमे नवकमिक

Second Side

पतिकस क्षत्रप लिअक ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

First Side

संवत्सरके अष्टसप्ततितमके ७८ महाराजस्य महतः मोगस्य
पनेमस्य मासस्य दिवसे पञ्चमे ५ एतस्यां पूर्वायां क्षहरस्य चुखस्य
च क्षत्रपस्य लियकः कुसुलुकः नाम । तस्य पुत्रः पतिकः तक्षशिलायां
नगरे [स्थितः] । उत्तरेण प्राच्यदेशः क्षेमः नाम । अत्र देशे पतिकः
अप्रतिष्ठापितं भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं प्रतिष्ठापयति सङ्घारामं च
सर्वबुद्धानां पूजायै मातापितरौ पूजयन् क्षत्रपस्य सपुत्रदारस्य आयुर्बल-
वृद्धये भ्रातृन् सर्वान् च ज्ञातिकाधिवासान् च पूजयन् महादानपतिः
पतिकः सार्द्धम् उपाद्ध्यायेन रोहिणीमित्रेण । यः अस्मिन् सङ्घारामे
नवकर्मिकः

Second Side

पतिकस्य क्षत्रपः लियकः ॥

SUMMARY

On the fifth day in the month of Panema¹ in the 78th year² in the reign of the Emperor, the great Moga.³

Patika, the lord of endowments, son of Liyaka Kusuluka, the Kshatrapa of Kshahara and Chukhsa, stationed at the city of Takshaśilā,⁴ sets up along with the teacher Rōhiṇīmitra, the relic (not previously set up) of the supreme Śākya sage (Buddha) at the locality called Kshēma in the north-eastern direction; and also a monastery for worshipping all the Buddhas⁵ for the long life of the Kshatrapa along with his wife and sons after honouring his parents, brothers and agnates.

Kshatrapa Liyaka⁷ (is) the architect of this monastery.

NOTES

1. The Macedonian Panemos is equivalent to the Indian Āshāḍha-Śrāvaṇa (July).

2. See No. 75, note 4 above for the details on the era to which this year 78 is assigned.

3. Moga, known as Maues from his coins became independent from the Parthians in Eastern Iran in about 20 B.C. and ruled upto 22 A.D. over a vast kingdom from the borders of East Iran to Mathurā in Uttar Pradesh. He did not establish a line of his own but was followed by Azes, his son-in-law, upto 30 A.D.; the latter's son Azilises (28-40 A.D.) and Azes (Aya) II (35-79 A.D.).

4. Takśhaśilā is modern Taxila.

5. According to Buddhist conception there are many past Buddhas and one future Buddha.

6. Bühler (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 56) and Sten Konow (*C.I.I.*, II, i, p. 28) consider Rōhiṇīmitra, the teacher to be the architect. Sircar (*S.I.*, I, p. 125) interprets in the same way.

7. Possibly Liyaka Kusuluka, the father of Patika was instrumental in designing the new construction. This portion has been interpreted by the scholars mentioned in Note 6 above, to mean that this copper plate was issued by Kshatrapa Liyaka Kusuluka.

81. BĪMARĀN VASE¹ INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	.. c. A.D. 23
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshṭhī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Śivarakshita
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Steatite vase, Bīmarān near Jallalabad, Afghanistan, now in the British Museum, London.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Pargiter, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XVI, pp. 97 ff. and plate.

TEXT

On the lid

भगवत शरीरेहि शिवरक्षितस मुंजनंदपुतस दन-मुहे ॥

Around the vase

शिवरक्षितस मुंजवदपुतस दन-मुहे नियतिदे भगवत शरीरेहि सर्व-
बुधन पुयए ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

भगवतः शरीरैः शिवरक्षितस्य मुंजनंदपुत्रस्य दानमुख्यस्य । शिव-
रक्षितस्य मुंजवदपुत्रस्य दानमुख्यस्य निर्यातितं भगवतः शरीरैः सर्वबुद्धानां
पूजायै ॥

SUMMARY

From Śivarakshita², son of Mumjananda, (who was) the head of endowments.

(This vase) is bestowed with the relics of Buddha for the veneration of all Buddhas³ by Śīvarakshita, son of Muṃjavada,⁴ (who was) the head of endowments.

NOTES

1. The vase was found to contain "a small quantity of fine mould in which were mingled a number of small burnt pearls, beads of sapphire, crystal etc. In the centre was standing a casket of pure gold. . . ."

2. This Śīvarakshita is possibly identical with his namesake mentioned in a fragmentary and damaged inscription on a rock at Shahdaur in Hazara District, Pakistan, which is dated in year 80 (A.D. 23) in the reign of Mahārāja Aya (*Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 200 and plate). That inscription seems to record a gift of ten thousand *kārshāpaṇas* by Śīvarakshita.

3. See No. 80, note 5.

4. Same as Muṃjananda.

82. NĀGA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION FROM MATHURĀ

<i>Date</i>	.. Later half of the 1st century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Nandibala and others /
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone slab, Jamālpur Mound, Mathurā, now in State Museum, Lucknow, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Lüders, <i>Mathurā Inscriptions</i> , No. 27, pp. 61-3 and plate.

TEXT

सिद्धं । सं^१ . . . व ३ दि ५ एतस्यं पूर्वायं भगवतो नागेन्द्रस्य
दधिकर्णस्य स्थाने शिलापट्टो प्रतिष्ठापितो माथुराणं शैलालकानं^२ चान्द्रका
भ्रातृका इति विज्ञायमानानं तेषं पुत्रेहि नन्दिबलप्रमुखेहि दारकेहि माता-
पितृणं अग्रप्रत्यशताये भवतु सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थं भवतु ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् । सं^१ . . व ३ दि ५ एतस्यां पूर्वायां भगवतो नागेन्द्रस्य
दधिकर्णस्य स्थाने शिलापट्टः प्रतिष्ठापितः माथुराणां शैलालकानां^२
चान्द्रकाः भ्रातृकाः इति विज्ञायमानानां तेषां पुत्रैः नन्दिबलप्रमुखैः दारकैः
मातापितृणां अग्रप्रत्यशतायै भवतु । सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थं भवतु ॥

SUMMARY

Success ! On the 5th day in the 3rd month of the rainy season
in the year . . .^३

[This] stone-slab was set up at the place (temple) of the supreme Nāgēndra Dadhikarṇa⁴ by the sons, **Nandibala** being the chief among them, of the renowned actors of Mathurā known as Chāndraka and brothers for the main benefit of (their) parents.

May (it) be for the welfare and happiness of all beings!

NOTES

1. Lüders reads the year as 20 6 (i.e. 26).
2. The word *śailālaka* is connected with Pāṇini's statement (iv, 3, 110)—actors well-versed in the tenets of Śīlālin.
3. This year read as 26, if correct, may have to be referred to the reign of Huvishka, though one cannot be certain about it.
4. *Harivaṃśa* (I, 168, 17) refers to the worship of this deity forming part of the daily recitation of Āhnikamantra by Baladēva and Kṛishṇa (Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Loc. cit). See also No. 138 below for a reference to a temple of this deity.

83. GOLD COIN¹ OF WIMA KADPHISES—II

<i>Date</i>	.. 55-75 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Wima Kadphises II
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. British Museum, London
<i>Reference</i>	.. V. A. Smith, <i>Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta</i> , I, p. 68.

TEXT

[महरजस*] [रज]दिरजस सर्वलोगेश्वरस महेश्वरस त्रिम
कश्चिजस [वतरस*] ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य सर्वलोकेश्वरस्य महेश्वरस्य (or
माहेश्वरस्य) त्रिम कश्चिजस्य त्रातुः ॥

SUMMARY

[Coin] of Wima Kathphīsa (Wima Kadphises)², the great king, the king of kings, the lord of the whole world, the *mahīśvara*³, the saviour.

NOTES

1. The coin bears on the obverse a bust of the king without the crown, facing right; flames arising from his shoulders; club in the right hand and elephant-goad in the left hand; symbol left of the head and an inscription in Greek characters meaning 'a coin of king Wima Kadphises'.

The coin bears on the reverse a representation of two armed Śiva facing head to left, hair in a spiral top-knot and tiger's skin over left arm, trident and battle-axe in right hand and inscription in Kharōshthī characters.

2. This king, Wima Kadphises (65-79 A.D.) belonged to a family of the Kushāṇas. His father and predecessor Kujula Kadphises (24-65 A.D.) ruled over the eastern parts of Central Asia. Wima extended his rule to the north-western parts of India.

3. Means 'lord of the earth.' But this word may be restored preferably as *Māhēśvarasya* meaning 'a devotee of Mahēśvara' (i.e. Śiva) as indicated by the representation of the deity on the reverse of the coin.

84. HUNZA ROCK INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 78 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock on the Hunza river at Haldeikish north of the bridge at Karimabad, Gilgit District, Occupied Kashmir.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Ahmad Hasan Dani, <i>Journal of Central Asia</i> , VIII, No. 2 December 1985, p. 25, No. 9 and plate.

TEXT

गुषणदेवस महरयस कनिष्कस संघे दन ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

कुषाणदेवस्य महाराजस्य कनिष्कस्य संघे दानम् ॥

SUMMARY

Gift in the monastery of the Lord of Kushāṇa, the great king. . . Kanishka.¹

NOTE

1. The dynastic name of Kushāṇa occurs also in No. 85. Another inscription from Pishora in Hazara District on the Karakoram Highway is reported by Dani to contain a reference to the monastery of Kanishka-Mahārāja.

85, TAXILA SILVER SCROLL INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	.. Azes Year 136 : A.D. 79
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Bāhalika/Aya
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka
<i>Location</i>	.. Silver vase in a steatite vessel under the floor in a Chapel near a <i>stūpa</i> , Taxila, Rawalpindi Dist., Pakistan.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 34, pp. 133-4.

TEXT

स १ १०० २० १० ४ १ १ अयस अषडस मसस दिवसे १० ४ १
इश दिवसे प्रदिस्तवित भगवतो धतुओ उरसकेण इंतव्हिअ पुत्रण बहलिण
णोअचए णगरे वस्तवेण । तेण इमे प्रदिस्तवित भगवतो धतुओ धमरइए
तक्षशि[ल*]ए तणुवए बोधिसत्व गहमि महरजस रजतिरजस देवपुत्रस
खुषणस अरोग-दक्षिणए सर्वबुधण पुयए प्रचगबुधण पुयए अरह[त*]ण
पुयए सर्वस[त्व*]ण पुयए मतपितु पुयए मित्रमच त्रतिसलोहि[त*]ण पुयए
अत्वणो अरोगदक्षिणए णिवणए । होतु अवदे समपरिचगो ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सं[वत्सरे] १३६ अयस्य आषाढस्य मासस्य दिवसे १५ अस्मिन्
दिवसे प्रतिष्ठापिताः भगवतः धातवः औरशकेन इन्तप्रियपुत्रेण बाहलिकेन
नवाजये नगरे वास्तव्येन । तेन इमे प्रतिष्ठापिताः भगवतः धातवः धार्म-
राजिके तक्षशिलके तनुवके बोधिसत्त्वगृहे महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य

देवपुत्रस्य कुषाणस्य आरोग्यदक्षिणायै सर्वबुद्धानां पूजायै प्रत्येकबुद्धानां
पूजायै अर्हतां पूजायै सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै मातापित्रोः पूजायै मित्रामात्य-
ज्ञातिसलोहितानां पूजायै आत्मनः आरोग्यदक्षिणायै निर्वाणाय [च] ।
भवतु आयातः सम्यक्परित्यागः ॥

SUMMARY

On the 15th day in the month of Āshāḍha in the year 136 in the reign of Aya (Azes II)¹

Bāhalika of Uraśā, son of Intapriya, who was a resident of the city of Nōacha (Navāja) got the relics of the Supreme (Buddha) enshrined. They were established at the Dharmarāja²—stūpa at Takshaśilā by him in his own Bōdhisatva³ shrine for the bestowal of health on Kushāṇa⁴, the great king, king of kings and the son of the celestials; for the worship of all the Buddhas and the individual Buddhas, in honour of the Arhats⁵, in honour of all beings, his parents, friends, ministers, kinsmen and blood-relations and for his own health and emancipation.

May (this) good sacrifice (i.e. gift) be considered increasing.

NOTES

1. This Śaka king ruled over an area east of Kābul upto the limits of Punjab from A.D. 35-79. The era to which the year 136 belongs, is the same as Scytho-Parthian or Vikrama Samvat.

2. This is an epithet of Buddha.

3. Bōdhisatva is one who is destined to be a Buddha in future.

4. The name of this king is not given. He may be one among the many members of the family to which Kanishka I belonged.

5. *Arhat* is one who is yet to become a Buddha by obtaining final emancipation.

86. PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION FROM KOSAM

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 2: A.D. 80
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Buddhamitrā/Kanishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Pedestal of a Bōdhisatva image from Kosam (now in Municipal Museum, Allahabad, U.P.)
<i>Reference</i>	.. K. G. Goswami, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXIV, pp. 210-12.

TEXT

महाराजस्य कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे २^१ हे २ दि ऽ बोधिसत्वो (त्वं)
प्रतिष्ठापयति भिखुनि बुद्धमित्रा त्रैपिटिका भगवतो बुद्धस्य चक्रमे ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे २^१ हे २ दि ऽ बोधिसत्त्वं प्रति-
ष्ठापयति भिक्षुणी बुद्धमित्रा त्रैपिटिका भगवतो बुद्धस्य चक्रमे ॥

SUMMARY

On the 8th day in the 2nd month of the winter (season) in the 2nd year² of Mahārāja Kanishka³.

Buddhamitrā, a female mendicant well-versed in the Tripiṭaka⁴ arranged to set-up (this image of) Bōdhisatva⁵ in the walking enclosure of the supreme Buddha.

NOTES

1. Sircar reads the date as the year 3 (*Sel. Ins.*, I (Revised), p. 135). Only two horizontal lines are aligned, while the supposed top horizontal line is apart.

2. The era is not mentioned. The higher numbers of years cited in the records of Kanishka's successors indicate that they are not regnal years of the respective kings but only a continuation of the reckoning from the date of Kanishka's accession. This reckoning was also adopted continuously by the Śaka feudatories of Kanishka and his successors, who ruled in western India and hence it is called Śaka era.

3. Kanishka belonged to the family of Kushāṇas, a branch of the Yueh-chi tribe which moved from the central Asian region to the valley of Oxus and which established an empire around Bokhāra. Kanishka, who was at first the governor of the eastern parts of the empire, became increasingly powerful and ruled from 78-101 A.D. over an empire of his own, extending from Khōrāsān (Iran) in the west to Bihar in the east and from Khōtān (central Asia) in the north to Konkan (Mahārashtra) in the south. His successors were: Vāsishka (102-106 A.D.), his brother Huvishka (106-138 A.D.), Vāsishka's son Kanishka II (119-144 A.D.) and Vāsudēva (145-167) A.D.

4. *Tripitaka* i.e., the three *piṭakas* (baskets)—the three collections of sacred Buddhist teachings called *Sūtrapitaka* (discourses), *Vinayapitaka* (discipline) and *Abhidharmapitaka* (metaphysics).

5. A deified personification of the penultimate state of enlightenment (*bōdhi-satva*-enlightened being).

87. BŌDHISATVA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF BALA

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 3: A.D. 81
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Bala/Kanishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Standing image and shaft at Sārnāth, near Vārāṇasi (Benares), Uttar Pradesh.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Vogel, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , VIII, p. 173 and plate.

TEXT

I

महारजस्य कणिष्कस्य सं ३ हे ३ दि २० २ एताये पूर्वये भिक्षुस्य
पुण्यबुद्धिस्य सद्धचेविहारिस्य भिक्षुस्य बलस्य त्रेपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वो
छत्रयष्टि च प्रतिष्ठापितो वाराणसिये भगवतो चंकमे सहा मातपितिहि
सहा उपद्धचायाचर्येहि सद्धचेविहारिहि अन्तेवासिकेहि च सहा बुद्धमित्तये
त्रेपिटिकये सहा क्षत्रपेण वनस्परेन खरपल्लानेन च सहा च चतुहि
परिषाहि सर्वसत्त्वनं हितासुखार्थं ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य कनिष्कस्य सं ३ हे ३ दि २२ एतस्यां पूर्वायां भिक्षोः
पुण्यबुद्धेः सार्द्धविहारिणः भिक्षोः बलस्य त्रैपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वः छत्रयष्टिः
च प्रतिष्ठापितौ वाराणस्यां भगवतः चङ्क्रमे सह मातापितृभ्यां सह
उपाद्धचायाचार्यैः सार्द्धविहारिभिः अन्तेवासिकैः च, सह बुद्धमित्तया

त्रैपिटक्या, सह क्षत्रपेण वनस्परेण खरपल्लानेन च, सह च चतसृभिः
परिषद्भिः सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थम् ॥

II

भिक्षुस्य बलस्य त्रैपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वो प्रतिष्ठापितो । महाक्षत्रपेन
खरपल्लानेन सहा क्षत्रपेन वनस्परेण ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

भिक्षोः बलस्य त्रैपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वः प्रतिष्ठापितः महाक्षत्रपेण
खरपल्लानेन, सह क्षत्रपेण वनस्परेण ॥

III

महाराजस्य कणिष्कस्य सं ३ हे ३ दि २० २ एतये पुर्वये भिक्षुस्य
बलस्य त्रैपिट[कस्य] बोधिसत्त्वो छत्रयष्टि च प्रतिष्ठापितौ ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य कनिष्कस्य सं ३ हे ३ दि २२ एतस्यां पूर्वायां भिक्षोः
बलस्य त्रैपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वः छत्रयष्टिः च प्रतिष्ठापितौ ॥

SUMMARY

No. 1

On the shaft behind the image

On the twentysecond day falling in the third (month) in the
winter (season) of the year³ (in the reign) of Mahārāja **Kanishka**.

[This image of] Bōdhisatva and a shaft with an umbrella (on
top) were erected at Vārāṇasī on the platform used for Bhagavat's
(Buddha's) walk.

By the monk **Bala**, a master of *Tripitaka*¹ and a colleague of the
monk Pushyavṛiddhī, along with his parents, his teachers, temporal

and spiritual, his colleagues and students, (the nun) Buddhāmitrā proficient in *Tripitaka*,¹ Kshatrapas Vanaspara and Kharapallāna and the four groups.³

No. 2

Front face of the pedestal

[This image of] Bōdhisatva and . . . were set up by the monk **Bala** versed in *Tripitaka* along with Mahākshatrapa Kharapallāna and Kshatrapa Vanaspara.²

No. 3

Back of the image between the feet

[The image of] Bōdhisatva and a shaft with umbrella were set up by the monk Bala versed in *Tripitaka* on the date.⁴

NOTES

1. See note 4 on No. 86.
2. Note the difference in the designations (in the inscriptions on the front face of the pedestal) of these two persons. They were apparently local governors. Kharapallāna was evidently senior in rank.
3. The four groups are (i) monks, (ii) nuns, (iii & iv) male and female lay adherents (*bhikshus*, *bhikshunis*, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās* respectively).
4. Date as in No. 1, the inscription on the shaft.

88. PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF BALA

<i>Date</i>	.. Date lost (compare No. 87)
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Bala/Kanishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Pedestal of Bōdhisatva image, Set-Mahet on the borders of Gonda and Bahraich Dist., U.P. (now in Indian Museum, Calcutta).
<i>Reference</i>	.. I. Bloch, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , VIII, p. 180.

TEXT

महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य सं . . . दि १० ६ एतये पुर्वये
भिक्षुस्य पुण्य[वु]द्धिस्य सद्धचेविहारिस्य भिक्षुस्य बलस्य त्रैपिटकस्य दानं
बोधिसत्वो छात्रं दाण्डश्च शावस्तिये भगवतो चंकमे कोसंवकुटिये
[अचर्या]णां सर्वस्तिवादिनं परिग्रहे ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य सं . . . दि १६ एतस्यां
पूर्वायां भिक्षोः पुण्यवृद्धेः सार्द्धविहारिणः भिक्षोः बलस्य त्रैपिटकस्य दानं
बोधिसत्त्वः छात्रं दाण्डश्च श्रावस्त्यां भगवतः चङ्क्रमे कौशाम्बकुट्यां
आचार्याणां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहाय ॥

SUMMARY

On the 19th day¹ in the (month of the) . . . (Season) in the
year . . . (in the reign) of Mahārāja Dēvaputra² Kanishka

Monk Bala³ (versed in) *Tripiṭaka*, a colleague of the monk Pushyavṛiddhi gave (the image of) Bōdhisatva, and umbrella and a shaft (installed), on the walking platform (around the shrine of) Bhagavat (Buddha) in the (monastery called) Kauśāmba-kuṭī⁴ at Śrāvastī⁵ into the possession of the preceptors of Sarvāstivāda (sect)⁶.

NOTES

1. Written as 10 9.
2. The word meaning 'sons of gods' is found used in the *Ṛigvēda* (X, 62.4) to denote sages. See No. 85.
3. The contents of this inscription from this portion onwards are identical with those of another identical but much damaged inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 291) engraved on the shaft of the umbrella attached to the same image. It is now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow. It is evident that the same inscription was engraved both on the shaft and on the pedestal, as in the case of the preceding inscription.
4. This name recalls the association of this monastery with Kōsam near Allahabad, called Kauśāmbī in ancient times.
5. Śrāvastī is the same as Set-Mahet, the findspot of the inscription.
6. This is the name of a school of thought among the Buddhist founded by Rāhula, son of Buddha, though based on the theory of non-ego, admitting the realities of the objects in their nominal state. This is one of the four divisions of the Vaibhāshika system of Buddhism.

89. NĀGA SCULPTURE¹ INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 8 : A.D. 86
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Niyavaḍaki/Kanishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Bhaḍāl, now in the Museum, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. Lüders, <i>Mathurā Inscriptions</i> , No. 142, p. 148 and plate.

TEXT

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य षाहि कणिक्खस्य स ँ गृ ४ दि ५ ।
अस्य पुव्वीयं भगवतो भूमोनागस्य पुक्षिरिणि अरमो च प्र[तिग्र]हो
..... त्स्य माथुरस्य नियवडकिस्य सर्व्वसतहिदसुखए ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य षाहि कणिक्कस्य सं ँ ग्री ४ दि ५ ।
अस्यां पूर्वायां भगवतो भूमोनागस्य पुष्करिणी आरामः च प्रतिग्रहो
..... त्स्य माथुरस्य नियवडकेः सर्व्वसत्त्वहितसुखाय ॥

SUMMARY

On the 5th day in the 4th [month of] the summer (season) in the 8th year (in the reign) of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Shāhi² **Kanishka**.

The tank and the garden of the supreme Bhūmo-nāga are the gifts of . . . Niyavaḍaki³ of Mathura, made for the benefit of all sentient beings.

NOTES

1. The panel of sculptures on the upper half of the stone contains a male figure in the centre with a canopy of seven hoods. The figure's right hand in a raised position holds an object (broken) and the left hand holds a small vessel. He is flanked by two shorter female figures on either side with probably similar hoods (damaged). Below is another panel containing five male and five female figures and figures of two boys—all probably worshippers (see *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 10 f. and plate showing the image and the inscription).

2. The king is endowed with the additional epithets Rājātirāja and Shāhi meaning 'a king of kings' and 'monarch' respectively. Both the words occur in the *upasthāna-mantras* in *Taittirīy-Āraṇyaka* as *Rājādhirāja* and *Sāhi*. The first word has been interpreted by the commentator Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara as 'one who excels all other kings' and the second word *Sāhi* is interpreted by the same commentator as 'one who is capable of securing wealth' (Mysore Govt. Oriental Library Series, *Taittirīyāraṇyakam*, Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara Miśra's commentary, Vol. I, 1902, Prapāṭhakas 1-4, p. 179).

3. Krishna Sastri (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, Additions and corrections, p. 11, text, line 3) interprets Niyavaḍaki as Niya, the *vaḍaki* i.e., the carpenter.

90. NĀGA SCULPTURE INSCRIPTION FOR NAVAMIKĀ

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 10: A.D. 88
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Kanishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. British Museum, London.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Lüders, <i>Mathurā Inscriptions</i> , No. 182, p. 208 f and plate.

TEXT

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य काणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे १० श्रि २
दि ६ एतये पूर्वये उत्तरायं नउमिकायं^१ हार्म्यन्दत । प्रियतां देवि
ग्रामस्य^२ ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे ग्रीष्मे २
दिवसे ६ एतस्यां पूर्वायां उत्तरायां नउमिकायां^१ हर्म्यं दत्तम् । प्रीयतां
देवी ग्रामस्य ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

[This] temple was donated (i.e. constructed) at Uttarā^३ for Navamikā^४ on the ninth day in the second (month of) the summer (season) in the tenth year of Mahārāja Dēvaputra **Kanishka**

May the Goddess^४ of the village be pleased.

NOTES

1. Lüders reads this as Navamikā and also suggests the possibility of reading the letter *va* as *na*. The letter is certainly *u* (उ).

2. This is engraved below a sculpture of a male figure and a female, both seated on a bench. The lady is depicted in a relaxed pose with her left hand resting on the raised knee and touching her chin and with her right hand resting on the bench. The man is holding on his right palm a cushion like object supporting a bell-shaped object. The border line of the sculpture on the left side cuts across the letter at the beginning of each line of the inscription below the sculpture.

3. This seems to indicate that the deity was housed in the northern part of the locality.

4. The reading *Naūmikā* is capable of being interpreted as Navamikā, the name of a goddess. A different reading Nanamikā (Nanāmbikā) has been suggested by S. P. Tewari (*Rūpāñjali*, pp. 135-7 and plate) on the basis of Lüders' note and identified with Nanā, a Babylonian goddess. The word quoted by him from the *Ṛigvēda* (i.e., 112, 3) seems to mean 'mother'. See B. N. Mukherjee, *Nanā on Lion*, where Kushāṇa coins bearing on one side the portraits of a goddess on lion and on the other a legend in Greek language and script meaning *ambā*, are examined.

5. It is possible that Navamikā was being worshipped as the presiding deity of the village.

91. COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF VIHĀRASVĀMINĪ

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 11 : A.D. 89
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Vihārasvāminī/Kanishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Sui Vihār near Bahāwalpur, Pakistan (now in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta).
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sten Konow, <i>C.I.I.</i> , II, p. 141 and plate.

TEXT

महरजस्य रजतिरजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकदशे सं
१० ५ दइसिकस्य मसस्य दिवसे अठविशे दि २० ४ ४ आत्र दिवसे
भिक्षुस्य नगदत्तस्य धर्मकथिस्य अचर्यदमत्ततशिष्यस्य अचर्यभवेप्रशिष्यस्य
यठि अरोपयत इह दमने विहरस्वमिणि उपसिक वलनंदि कुटुमिनि
वलजयमत च इमं यठि प्रतिठनं ठपइचं अनुपरिवरं ददरि सर्वसत्वनं
हितमुखय भवतु ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकादशे
सं ११ दैसिकस्य मासस्य दिवसे अष्टाविंशे दि २० अत्र दिवसे भिक्षोः
नागदत्तस्य धर्मकथिनः आचार्य-दमत्तातशिष्यस्य आचार्य-भवप्रशिष्यस्य
यष्टि आरोपयति इह दमने विहारस्वामिनी उपासिका वलनन्दिकुटुम्बिनी

वलजयमाता च इदं यष्टिप्रतिष्ठानं स्थापयित्वा अनुपरिवारं ददाति ।
सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखाय भवतु ॥

SUMMARY

On the twentyeighth day in the month of Daisika¹ in the year 11² (in the reign) of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Dēvaputra **Kanishka**.

Vihārasvāminī, a lay worshipper, wife of Balanandi and mother of Balajaya, set up at Damana the pedestal and mounted on it the (memorial) stone of:

Nāgadatta, a mendicant and the preacher of Dharma, a disciple of the spiritual preceptor Damatrāta (who was himself) a disciple of the spiritual preceptor Bhava.

May it be for the happiness and welfare of all sentient beings.

NOTES

1. Sircar points out that Daisika (Daisios) corresponds to the Indian Jyēshṭha-Āshāḍha (June-July). Note the omission of the name of the season and the introduction of the name of the month.

2. It is written as 10 1.

92. ZEDA WELL INSCRIPTION OF HIPEADHIYA

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 11 : A.D. 89
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Hipeadhiya/Kanishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Zeda, near Uṇḍ, Rawalpindi District, Pakistan; Now in Lahore Museum.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 42, p. 140.

TEXT

सं १० १ अषडस मसस दि २० उत्तर फगुणे इणे क्षुणमि खदे
कुए वेरोडस मर्जकस कणिष्कस रजमि । तोयंद च भुइ दणमुख हिपेअधि-
अस सर्वस्तिवदतिवधस पुजने लिअकस क्षत्रपस उपकचअ मदु । कत दण
अनुग्रहेण [वुध]स सधमित्तरजस ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सं ११ आषाढस्य मासस्य दि २० उत्तरफल्गुने अस्मिन् क्षणे
खातः कूपः वेरोडस्य मर्जकस्य कनिष्कस्य राज्ये । तोयदा च भूयः
दानमुखं हिपेयधियस्य सर्वास्तिवादातिवृद्धस्य पूजने लियकस्य क्षत्रपस्य
उपकृत्यायाः मातुः । कृतं दानं अनुग्रहेण वृद्धस्य सङ्घमित्तराजस्य ॥

SUMMARY

[This] well was excavated in the kingdom of **Kanishka** at this time—the day of the star Uttara Phalgunā,¹ 20th day in the month of Āshāḍha in the 11th year, by Verōḍa Marjhaka².

A cistern was also given in honour of **Hipeadhiya**,³ the most venerable of the Sarvāstivāda school⁴ and for the merit of *Kshatrapa* Liyaka and also for the merit of his mother Upakṛityā at the gracious (instance) of the venerable⁵ Saṅghamitrarāja.

NOTES

1. The star Uttara Phalgunā occurring on the 20th day of Āshāḍha makes the month *Pūrṇimānta* i.e. ending with the full moon (*pūrṇimā*).

2. These two names read as Muruṇḍa and Marjhaka and interpreted respectively as lord and treasurer are attributed to Kanishka by Sten Konow (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, p. 15)

3. Sircar interprets this as the name of the donor of the well as different from the donor of the cistern.

4. See note 6, No. 88.

5. The relevant word *Vṛiddha* in the text, for venerable would really mean old. Sircar interprets this as *Bauddha-sthavira* which would mean an elderly Buddhist preceptor. Saṅghamitrarāja was probably a disciple of Hipeadhiya.

93. BUDDHA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF SAṄGHILĀ

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 14 : A.D. 93
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Saṅghilā/Kanishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Pedestal of the image of Buddha, Mathura, U.P., now in Patna Museum, Bihar.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Lūders, <i>Mathurā Inscriptions</i> , No. 81, p. 116 and plate.

TEXT

महाराजदेवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे १० ४ पौषमास-दिवसे
१० अस्मि दिवसे प्रवारिकहस्थस्य भय्या संघिला भगवातो पितामहास्य
सम्यसंबुद्धस्य स्वमतस्य देवस्य पूजार्थं प्रतिमं प्रतिष्ठापयति सर्व्वदुक्ख
प्रहानार्था ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजदेवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे १४ पौषमासदिवसे १०
अस्मिन् दिवसे प्रावारिकहस्तिनः भार्या संघिला भगवतः पितामहस्य
सम्यक्-संबुद्धस्य स्वमत[विबुद्ध*]स्य देवस्य पूजार्थं प्रतिमां प्रतिष्ठापयति
सर्व्वदुःखप्रहाणार्थम् ॥

SUMMARY

On the 10th day in the month of Pausha in the 14th year (in the reign) of Mahārāja Dēvaputra Kanishka, **Saṅghilā**, the wife of the garment-maker Hasti, instals

the image of the supreme Pitāmaha,¹ 'who lived according to his own teachings', the well-realised Buddha

for worship seeking the alleviation of the distress of all beings.

NOTE

1. Pitāmaha meaning "paternal grandfather" is generally applied to Brahmā in Purāṇic literature. It is endowed on Buddha by the followers of Buddhism.

94. DURĀ INSCRIPTION OF VARDHANTIKĀ

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 16 : 94-95 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Vardhantikā /Kanishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar, Durā, Kiraoli Tahsil, Agra District, Uttar Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXV, p. 190

TEXT

महरजस्य काणिष्कस्य संवछरे १० ६ एतय पूवये ग्रामिकनां
आतिनं रिष्टिषेण सगोत्रान वसुदत्तपुत्र्या वधन्तिकय . . तिकहि गृहो
दत्तो लो . . . श्रेयसेस्तु ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे १६ एतस्यां पूर्वायां ग्रामिकाणां
आतिनां आर्ष्टिषेणसगोत्राणां वसुदत्तपुत्र्या वर्धन्तिकया . . तिकस्य गृहं
दत्तं लो . . श्रेयसेस्तु ॥

SUMMARY

In the 16th year in the reign of Mahārāja **Kanishka** a house was donated in favour of (the members of a sect?) by **Vardhantikā**, the daughter of Vasudatta of the village Āti (belonging to) the Ārshṭi-shēṇa *gōtra*.

May it be for the prosperity of the [world] !

95. STŪPA INSCRIPTION OF LALA

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 18 : A.D. 96
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Lala/Kanishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Mānikīāla, Rawalpindi Dist., Pakistan
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , Vol. I, No. 43, p. 142

TEXT

सं १० ४ ४ कर्तियस मस[स] दिवस २० ।

एत पुर्वे महर्जस कणष्कस्य गुषण वश संवर्धक लल दडणयगो
वेषपशिस क्षत्रपस होरमुर्तो स तस अपनगे विहरे होरमुर्तो एत णण भगव
बुद्धञ्चुव प्रतिस्तवयति सह तएन वेषपशिण खुदेचिएन बुरितेण च
विहरकरव्हएण संवेण च परिवरेण सध ।

एतेन कुशलमुलेन बुधेहि च षवएहि च समं सद भवतु भ्रतर
स्वरबुधिस अग्रपडिअशए सध बुधिलेन नवकम्मगेण ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सं १८ कार्तिकस्य मासस्य दिवसे २० ।

अत्रपूर्वायां महाराजस्य कनिष्कस्य कुषाणवंशसंवर्धकः ललः दण्ड-
नायकः वेषपसेः क्षत्रपस्य होरमूर्तः सः तस्य आत्मके विहारे होरमूर्तः
अत्र नाना भगवद्बुद्धस्तूपान् प्रतिष्ठापयति सह त्रयेण वेषपशिकेन
खुदेचियेन, बुरितेन च विहारकारकेण, साम्बेन च—परिवारेण सार्द्धम् ।

एतेन कुशलमूलेन बुधैः च श्रावकैः च समं सदा भवतु भ्रातुः
स्वरबुद्धेः अग्रप्रत्यंशाय सार्द्धं बुद्धिलेन नवकर्मिकेण ॥

SUMMARY

On the 20th day in the month of Kārttika in the 18th year [in the reign] of Mahārāja **Kanishka**.

General Lala, who raises aloft the (prestige) lineage of Kushāṇas and who is the lord of endowments (*hōramūrtō*)¹ under Kshatrapa Vēśpaśi and also the lord of the monastery constructed by himself has set up several *stūpas*² for Buddha, in the company of three persons i.e., Khudēchi-Vēśpaśika, Burita, the builder of the monastery and Sāmba.

May this source of welfare (endowment)³ be for the primary benefit of (**Lala's**) brother Svarabuddhi and of the enlightened ones and the novices and Buddhila, the builder-renovator (architect)⁴ !

NOTES

1. The word होरमूर्तो is a Scythian word corresponding to the Sanskrit दानपति according to Lüders.

2. *Stūpa* is a domed construction circular in shape at the base with different components like decorated railings, arches, etc., all along the periphery and a finial at the top of the dome.

3. The correct word कुशलमूलेन as given in the text implies, besides the merit accruing out of it, the economic aspect of an endowment of capital for the maintenance, feeding, worship etc., in the religious centre.

4. Possibly Burita constructed the monastery for Vēśpaśika and Buddhila was involved in the new construction now under way.

96. COPPER-CASKET INSCRIPTION OF ŚVAITRAVARMAN

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 21 : A.D. 99
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Śvāitравarman/[Kanishka]
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Kurram near Peshawar, North Western Frontier Province, Pakistan.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , Vol. I, No. 47, pp. 148 ff.

TEXT

सं २० १ मसस अवदुनकस दि २० ।

इशे क्षुनंमि श्वेड्वर्म यशपुत्र तनुवकंमि रंजंमि नवविहरंमि अचर्यन
सर्वस्तिवदन परिग्रहंमि थुबंमि भगवतस शक्यमुनिस शरिर प्रदिठवेदि ।

यथ वुत भगवद अविजप्रचग्र संकरं संकरप्रचग्र विजन विजन-
प्रचग्र नमरुव नमरुवप्रचग्र षड्रयदन षड्रयदनप्रचग्र फष पषप्रचग्र वेदन
वेदनप्रचग्र तण्ण तण्णप्रचग्र उवदन उवदनप्रचग्र भव भवप्रचग्र जदि
जदिप्रचग्र जरमरन शोग्र परिदेव दुख दोर्मनस्त/उपग्रस एवं अस केवलस
दुखकंधस संमुदए भवदि सर्वे सत्वन पुयए अय च प्रति च संमुपते ।
लिखिद महिफतिएन सर्वसत्वन पुयए ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सं २१ मासस्य अवदुनकस्य दि २० ।

अस्मिन् क्षणे श्वैत्रवर्मा यशःपुत्रः तनुवके रम्ये नवविहारे

आचार्याणां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे स्तूपे भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं प्रतिष्ठापयति ।

यथा उक्तं भगवता—“अविद्याप्रत्ययात् संस्कारः, संस्कारप्रत्ययात् विज्ञानम्, विज्ञानप्रत्ययात् नामरूपे, नामरूपप्रत्ययात् षडायतनानि, षडायतनप्रत्ययात् स्पर्शः, स्पर्शप्रत्ययात् वेदना, वेदनाप्रत्ययात् तृष्णा, तृष्णाप्रत्ययात् उपादानम्, उपादानप्रत्ययात् भवः. भवप्रत्ययात् जातिः, जातिप्रत्ययात् जरामरणशोकपरिदेवदुःखदौर्मनस्योपायासाः । एवं अस्य केवलस्य दुःखस्कन्धस्य समुदयः भवति ” ।

सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै अयं च प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः । लिखितः महीपतिकेन सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै ॥

SUMMARY

On the occasion on the 20th day in the Greek month of Avadunaka (Audunaios)¹ in the year 21.

Śvāitравarma, son of Yaśa deposited the physical remains of the supreme Śākyamuni² (i.e. Buddha) in the *stūpa* unto (the hands of) the preceptors of Sarvāstivāda (school of thought)³ in the beautiful new monastery built by himself.

Thus said the supreme⁴—” . . .

“From Ignorance spring Impressions, from Impressions spring Consciousness, from Consciousness spring Name-and-Form, from Name-and-Form spring the Six Provinces (of the six senses), from the Six Provinces springs Contact, from Contact springs Sensation, from Sensation springs Thirst (or desire), from Thirst springs Attachment, from Attachment springs Existence, from Existence springs Birth, from Birth spring old age and Death, Grief, Lamentation, Suffering, Dejection and Despair. [Such is] the origin of [this] whole (or unique) Mass of suffering. [May these] relics of the Lord of the Universe [be] honoured by all sentient beings and [likewise] this summary [doctrine] of causes and effects.”

This chain of causation (*Pratītya-samutpāda*) was written by Mahīpatika (at the instance of Śvāitравarman) for the adoration of all sentient beings.

NOTES

1. This corresponds to the Indian Pausha and Māgha (January-February).
2. Buddha, known as Siddhārtha before his enlightenment, belonged to the Śākya clan; hence called Śākya-muni i.e., the sage from the Śākya clan.
3. See Nos. 88 and 92 for other references to this school of thought.
4. From *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 17. A Sanskrit version of the same is obtained on a brick.

97. GUÑJI INSCRIPTION OF PRAUSHṬHADATTA AND INDRADATTA

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 6 : c. 100 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Praushṭhadatta and Indradatta/ Kumāravīradattaśrī
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	... Rock at Guñji near Sakti Railway Station, Raigarh District, Madhya Pradesh.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I No. 93 A, pp. 223 ff.

TEXT

सिध ॥

नमो भगवतो ।

रंजो कुमारवीरदत्तसिरिस संवछरे पचमे हेमतपखे चतुथे ४
दिवसे [पंचद*]से १० ५ ।

भगवतो उसुभतिथे अमचस पोठधिय[प*]पोतस गोडछस णतुकेण
अमतस मतजनपालितस पुतेन अमचेन दडनायकेन बलाधिकतेन वासिठी-
पुतेन पोठदत्तेन दत्तं वससहसायुवधनिके बम्हनाणं गोसहसं १००० संवछरे
छठे ६ गिम्ह पखे छठे ६ दिवसे १० वितियं गोसहसं दत्तं १००० ।

एतस ये व भावटा अमचेन दंडनायकेन दानिस नतिकेन . . .
[सपुते*]न इददत्तेन दत्ता बम्हनाणं गोसहसाय ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥

नमो भगवते ।

राज्ञः कुमारवीरदत्तश्रियः संवत्सरे पञ्चमे हेमन्तपक्षे चतुर्थे ४ दिवसे पञ्चदशे १५ ।

भगवतः ऋषभतीर्थे अमात्यस्य प्रौष्ठधियप्रपौत्रस्य गोडछस्य नप्तृकेण अमात्यस्य मातृजनपालितस्य पुत्रेण अमात्येन दण्डनायकेन वलाधिकृतेन वासिष्ठीपुत्रेण प्रौष्ठदत्तेन दत्तं वर्षसहस्रायुर्वाद्धनिकं ब्राह्मणेभ्यः गोसहस्रम् १००० । संवत्सरे षष्ठे ६ ग्रीष्मपक्षे षष्ठे ६ दिवसे दशमे १० द्वितीयं गोसहस्रं दत्तम् १००० ।

एतस्य ये एव भावाटाः [ते] अमात्येन दण्डनायकेन दानिनः नप्तृकेण . . स्य पुत्रेण इन्द्रदत्तेन दत्ताः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः गोसहस्राय ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

Salutations to the Supreme

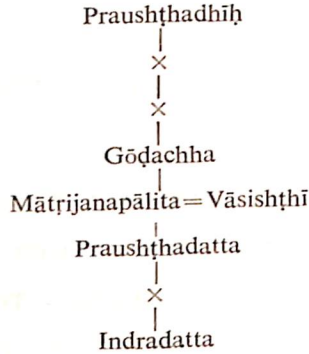
On the fifteenth day¹ in the fourth fortnight of the winter season in the fifth regnal year of king **Kumāravīradattaśrī**.

Minister-General **Praushthadatta**² son of Mātrījanapālita and the commander of the army, gave to Brāhmaṇas one thousand cows for the increase of his longevity at the Rishabhatīrtha³ of the Supreme (deity). He gave again one thousand cows to Brāhmaṇas on the tenth day⁴ in the sixth fortnight of the summer season in the sixth regnal year (of the same king).

His grandson the Minister-General **Indradatta** supplied dresses etc., for the Brāhmaṇas and the cows.

NOTES

1. This is the full-moon day in the month of Pausha.
2. His incomplete genealogy is given as



3. Rishabhatīrtha is mentioned in *Mahābhārata* (critical Ed., III, 83, 10).
4. This second date is the tenth day in the bright fortnight of the month of Jyēshṭha.

98. TWO CAVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM SILAHARĀ

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 100 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Mūladēva/Svāmidatta
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Inner wall of the Durvāsā and the Chēri-Gōdaḍī caves, former Rewa State, M.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Bhandarkar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXII, pp. 30 ff and plate.

TEXT

I

सामिदत्ते रजं कारयंतंम्हि ।

सिवानंदिपनतिकेन सिवदत्तनतिकेन सिवमितपुतेन [वछेन] मोगलि-
पुतेन मूलदेवेन अरामं पवते रोपापितं ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

स्वामिदत्ते राज्यं कुर्वति ।

शिवानंदिप्रणप्त्रा शिवदत्तनप्त्रा शिवमित्रपुत्रेण वत्सेन मौद्गली-
पुत्रेण मूलदेवेन आरामः पर्वते रोपितः ॥

II

सिवानंदिपनतिकेन सिवदत्तनतिकेन सिवमितपुतेन वछेन मोगलि-
पुतेन अमचेन मूलदेवेन सिलागहा कारिता ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

शिवानन्दिप्रणप्त्वा शिवदत्तनप्त्वा शिवमित्तपुत्रेण वत्सेन मौद्गली-
पुत्रेण अमात्येन मूलदेवेन शिलागृहं कारितम् ॥

SUMMARY

When king Svāmidatta¹ was ruling

This pleasure-house² (*ārāma-śilāgrīha*) was created (i.e., excavated) by minister Maudgalīputra **Mūladēva** of Vatsa-gōtra, son of Śivamitra, grandson of Śivadatta and great-grandson of Śivānandin.³

NOTES

1. His identity is not known and no other details are available
2. The word *ārāma* in the Inscription (I) in the Durvāsā cave points to the place as being put to use as a pleasure-resort (cf. Rāmgarh cave inscriptions Nos. 45 and 46). The inscription in the Chēri-Gōdaḍi cave is identical with the other except for the word *śilāgrīha* instead of *ārāma*. *Śilāgrīha*, means the stone-house i.e., the cave. This word has bestowed the name Silarā on the locality where the hillocks having the caves are situated.
3. Another cave called Sītāmaḍi also bears the same inscription as in the second one. Two more label-inscriptions in characters of about the 2nd century A.D. found in Sītāmaḍi cave read *Yuvati-mālē* (hill-place for meeting young women) and *Udaya-tārā* (rising star-name of a female artist).

99. GHŌSHITĀRĀMA INSCRIPTION FROM KŌSAM

<i>Date</i>	.. 1st century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Kōsam, Allahabad District, Uttar Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. A. Ghosh, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXIV, pp. 14-16 and plate.

TEXT

भयन्तस धरस अन्तेवासिस भिखुस फगुलस
बुद्धावासे घोषितारामे सबबुद्धानां पुजार्थं शिला कारिता¹ ।


TEXT SANSKRITISED

भयन्तस्य धरस्य अन्तेवासिनः भिक्षोः फगुलस्य
बुद्धावासे घोषितारामे सर्वबुद्धानां पूजार्थं शिला कारिता [11*]

SUMMARY

(This) slab was made of the monk Phagula, the disciple of the venerable Dhara, at the residence² of the Buddha in the *Ghōshitārāma*³ for the worship of all the Buddhas.

NOTES

1. This is engraved on a (fragmentary) stone below the representation of a pair of (Buddha's) feet flanked on all sides. The extant part shows floral designs and dwarf human figures. The partly preserved foot-mark bears a spoked wheel (*dharma-chakra*) on its sole, *svastika* symbols on its little toes and three symbols on its great toe. The *dharma-chakra* or the wheel of piety is set to have been turned symbolically by the first sermon given by Buddha after his enlightenment. The *svastika* is drawn as  and is said to denote an auspicious mark.

2. This place was believed to have been once the residence of the Buddha who is said to have visited and lived at Kauśāmbi i.e., Kōsam. A promenade where the Buddha used to have his walk is referred to in another inscription (No. 88 above).

3. The *Dhammapadaṭṭakathā* says that the monastery called Ghōshitārāma was built for the Buddha's residence by Ghōshaka, the treasurer of king Udayana of Kauśāmbi.

100. STONE BOWL INSCRIPTION OF AYALA

<i>Date</i>	.. 1st century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Ayala
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Bowl on the head of a male figure, originally from Jamna Bagh, Mathurā (Museum), U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Lüders, <i>Mathura Inscriptions</i> , Ed. Janert, No. 89, pp. 122-23

TEXT

इंद्रसमपूतस अयलस दन सबबूधानं पूजाय सुव[ण]कारविहारे
आचरियान म[हा*]संघदास[कानं]¹ परिगहे ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

इंद्रसमपुत्रस्य अयलस्य दानं सर्वबुद्धानां पूजाय सुवर्णकारविहारे
आचार्याणां म[हा]संघदासकानां¹ परिग्रहाय ॥

SUMMARY

[This object is] the gift of **Ayala**, son of Indrasama for the worship of all Buddhas² in the monastery of goldsmiths for the acceptance of teachers of the Mahāsaṃghadāsaka³ (school).

NOTES

1. Sahni, followed by Lüders reads *mahōpadēsakānam* (*Ep. Ind.*, XIX, pp. 67-68, Plate No. VI) meaning Mahōpadēsaka school'.

2. It is believed by the Buddhists that there were 3 mythical Buddhas of the present cycle of evolution or 24 Buddhas reckoning previous such cycles or according to others 6 principal Buddhas.

3. This is obviously an off-shoot of the Mahāsaṃgha comprising the laity who blindly follow the adherents of the main school.

101. GUNTUPALLE INSCRIPTION OF SIRI SADA

<i>Date</i>	.. 1st century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Sada
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Mahāmēghavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Four pillars ¹ excavated at the monastery site on the hillock at Guntupalle, West Godavari Dist., A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Journal of Anc. Ind. History</i> , Vol. III, Pts. 1-2, 1969-70, pp. 30-36, and plate.

TEXT

महाराजस कलिङ्गमहिषकाधिपतिस महामेघवाहनस सिरिसदस्य
लेखकस चुल्लगोमस मण्डपो दानं ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य कलिङ्गमहिषकाधिपतेः महामेघवाहनस्य श्रीसदस्य
लेखकस्य क्षुल्लगोमस्य मण्डपो दानम् ॥

SUMMARY

The Junior Gōma, the scribe of Mahāmēghavāhana Mahārāja Śrī Sada², the lord of Kalinga and Mahishaka³ gave this porch.⁴

NOTES

1. Four identical versions have been engraved on the four pillars which must have supported the ceiling of a building.
2. The name Sada points to a possible connection with the contemporary Sātavāhana (Prākṛit *Sadavāhana*) ruling family. Besides, it recalls the name of another king Mānasada of the Vēlpūru inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXII pp. 82ff.) which is a little later in point of time.
3. Mahishaka was evidently the name of an area contiguous to the Kalinga country though we have no other evidence for this view.
4. Sircar places this record in a date later than that of the Hathigumpha cave inscription of Khāravēla assigned to the close of the 1st century B.C. Sankaranarayanan (*Sri Venkatesvara University Oriental Journal*, Tirupati, XIX, pp. 54-60 and plate) fixes this inscription in the first half of the second century B.C. P. R. Srinivasan assigns this inscription to the same date (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXIX, p. 247).

102. BRICK INSCRIPTION OF DĀMAMITRA

<i>Date</i>	.. 1st century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Dāmamitra
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Musānagar? (now in Lucknow Museum), Kanpur District, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXIII, pp. 100-101 and plate.

TEXT

. . . स दाममित्रस अश्वमेधे ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

. . . स्य दाममित्रस्य अश्वमेधे ।

SUMMARY

(The brick on the altar) of the horse-sacrifice¹ of (i.e., performed by) Dāmamitra

NOTE

1. See No. 53 above, note 2.
-

103. BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION FROM SWAT

<i>Date</i>	.. 1st century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Rocks on a low hill, Shakōri near Mangalaur, Swat, Pakistan.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Bühler, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , IV, pp. 133-135.

TEXT

Metres: Anushtubh, A, B; / Vasantatilakā, c.

A

अनित्या¹ वत संस्कारा उत्पादव्ययधर्मिणः ।
उत्पद्य हि² निरुद्धचन्ते तेषां³ व्युपशमस्सुखम् ॥

B

सर्वपापस्याकरणं कु[शल*]स्योपसंपदा ।
स्वचित्तव्यवदानं च एतद्बुद्धानुशासनम् ॥

C

वाचानुरक्षी मनसा सुसंवृतः
कायेन चैवाकुशलन्न कुर्वन् ।
एतांस्त्रया⁴न्कर्मपथान् विशोद्धय
आराधयेन्मार्गमृषिप्रवेदितम् ॥

SUMMARY

A⁵

Alas! Transient are the formations (of beings), whose nature is birth and decay. Once born, in due course they disappear. Their (of birth and death) cessation is bliss.

B⁶

Abstaining from sin, accumulating merit and purification of one's mind—that is the teaching of Buddha.

C⁷

May one follow the path shown by the sage, by moderation in speech, by controlling the mind and by abstention from evil in action.

NOTES

1. The original reads अनीत्या
2. The original reads ही नी°
3. The original reads तेषा
4. The original reads °तास्तृयि°
5. This is a Sanskrit rendering of a famous verse in Pāli supposed to have been spoken by Indra, the celestial monarch at the time of Buddha's death (*Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta*, vi, 16) or by Buddha himself (*Mahā-Sudassana-jātaka*) (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XI, PP. 177, 238 ff.)
6. This is also a Sanskrit rendering of a Pāli verse from *Dhammapada*, verse 183.
7. This is also a Sanskrit rendering of a Pāli verse from *Dhammapada*, verse 281.

104. ŚAIVITE TEMPLE COMPLEX INSCRIPTION FROM MATHURĀ

<i>Date</i>	.. 1st century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Mṛigakūjita Khēḍa
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Archaeological Museum, Mathurā, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. P. R. Srinivasan, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXIX, pp. 9-12 and plate.

TEXT

गोत्तीपुत्रस¹ राहिलस पोत्रस वासिष्ठीपुत्रस रहदत्तस पुत्रस कोत्सी-
पुत्रस मृगकूजित खेडस कल्पप्रै(पु)ष्करिणी आराम सभा शिलापट्टा
देवकुलानि प्रीयतां भगवां महेश्वरः² ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

गौप्तीपुत्रस्य राहिलस्य पौत्रस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य रहदत्तस्य पुत्रस्य
कौत्सीपुत्रस्य मृगकूजितखेडस्य कल्पपुष्करिणी आरामः सभा शिलापट्टाः
देवकुलानि । प्रीयतां भगवान् महेश्वरः ॥

SUMMARY

Khēḍa of Mṛigakūjita, son of Kautsī and Rahadatta who was
a son of Vāsishṭhī, and the grandson (son's son) of Rāhila who was
a son of Gaupṭī, donated

A tank called Kalpa, a garden, hall, stone slabs and shrines.

May the supreme **Mahēśvara** be pleased!

NOTE

1. The alignment of the lines in the text engraved on the stone seems to show no writing at the beginning of this record. The editor suggests that the word *Svasti* seems to have been originally engraved but later on erased.

2. There are two well-sketched symbolic representations of *Śrīvatsa* (auspicious mark adorning the chest of god Viṣṇu) resembling a cruciform flower on the left margin and of a *Svastika* of the anti-clockwise type with its ends split up to look like the tail of a fish, at the end of the text.

3. The editor of the record considers Mṛigakūjita as 'the name of the villager'. Khēḍa may as well be his name and Mṛigakūjita may be the name of a village where perhaps the fauna (*mṛiga*) were conspicuous.

105. BŌDHISATVA PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 23 : A.D. 101
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Pushyadattā/Kanishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Sonkh, now in Mathurā Museum, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. B. Ch. Chhabra, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXVIII, pp. 42-44 and plate.

TEXT

महरस्य कनि २० ३ ग्र १ एतस्य पुर्वयं बहारिस्य मस्यगुत्तस्य^१ धिता
पुशदत्ता बोधिसत्व प्रतिष्ठापयति स्वके विहारे सर्वसत्त्वनं [हितसुखाय] ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य कनि[ष्कस्य सं] २३ ग्री १ एतस्यां पूर्वायां व्यवहारिणः
मत्स्यगुप्तस्य दुहिता पुष्यदत्ता बोधिसत्त्वं प्रतिष्ठापयति स्वके विहारे
सर्वसत्त्वानां [हितसुखाय ॥]

SUMMARY

In the first month of the summer (season) in the year 23 (in the reign) of **Kanishka**

Pushyadattā, the daughter of Matsyagupta, the magistrate, sets up (this image of) Bōdhisatva in her own monastery (i.e., constructed by her), for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

NOTE

1. D.R. Sahni (*JRAS*, 1924, p.400 f. No.2) reads 'Vihārisya Massaga-bhasya' and Lüders (*Mathurā Inscriptions*, No. 136, p. 172 and plate) reads Vihārasvamisya Gundasya'.

106. KŌSAM YŪPA INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka: 23 : c. A.D. 101
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Śivadatta/ . . .
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Two broken pieces of an octagonal pillar, Kōsam near Allahabad, now in the Municipal Museum, Allahabad, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Altekar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXIV, pp. 245 ff. and plate

TEXT

Metres: Anuṣṭubh—A 3-9, B 1-4

A

[तृती*]यो यूप उच्छ्रितः¹ ॥ ३ ॥
[चतु*]र्थस्तु श्रीमान् यूपः समुच्छ्रितः ॥ ४ ॥
[त*]तो विद्वानग्निष्टोमात्तु पंचमम् ॥ ५ ॥
[त]तोनेन षष्ठस्तु प्रथमात्क्रतोः ॥ ६ ॥
[कृत*]वान् यूपमग्निष्टोमात्तु सप्तमम् ॥ ७ ॥
[प्रथ*]माद्यज्ञात् पंचमो वाजपेयिकः ॥ ८ ॥
[त्रयो*]विंशे वर्षे यूपः समुच्छ्रितः ॥ ९ ॥

B

[ग्रा]मं शिवदत्ताय मंत्रिणे ॥ १ ॥
[स]चिवो ग्रामं राज्ञो महात्मनः ॥ २ ॥

. त्ति दत्त्वैव कृतदक्षिणाम् ॥ ३ ॥

[यश*]सा राजमित्तः श्रिया वृतः ॥ ४ ॥

C

कौविदारिकां शिरसा प्रतिगृह्य

. फलाः प्रेत्य चेह च । तस्मिन्नेवाहनि

. हार सर्वजातभोग्यमभृतप्रवेश्यं

[आगच्छ*]द्भिः चरकैर्भोक्तव्यमिति ।

सत्कृतः पुनः पुनः प्रीतिमियान्महेश्वर इति ॥

SUMMARY

A

The third sacrificial pillar² is set up. 3³; the illustrious fourth pillar is set up. 4; the learned man (set up) the fifth (pillar) from Agnishṭōma⁴.5; thereafter, the sixth from the first sacrifice.6; the pillar for the seventh from Agnishṭōma. 7; the fifth (pillar) for Vājapēya⁵ (fifth) from the first sacrifice8; . . . (this) pillar set up in the 23rd year

B

. the village to the minister Śivadatta. 1; the great king's minister (gave) the village. 2; having given as fee. 3; the king's friend (Śivadatta) adorned by fame and lustre. 4;

C

. having accepted Kaubidārikā⁶ supply the fruits on the same day to be enjoyed free from taxes by the wandering mendicants and not to be transgressed by the (government) servants

May the great lord (Mahēśvara i.e. Śiva) be pleased again and again.

NOTES

1. The correct form is उच्छिष्टः. The inscription is fragmentary. The first two lines and the left sides of each line in all the three sections are lost.
2. The details regarding the first two pillars are lost.
3. Sections A & B are in verse and are numbered. The extant portion begins with part of the third verse.
4. Agnishṭōma is the first of the seven Vedic sacrifices performed with oblations of Sōma juice to the celestial beings like Indra, Agni etc., by 16 priests. The other six sacrifices similarly performed are (2) Atyagnishṭōma (3) Ukthya, (4) Shōḍaśin, (5) Vājapēya, (6) Atirātra and (7) Aptōryāma.
5. This name Vājapēya, the fifth sacrifice is given here obviously to indicate that the pillar meant to commemorate Vājapēya got the inscription engraved on it.
6. This is the name of a sacred tree like Bilva dear to god Śiva.

107. INSCRIPTION ON SACRIFICIAL STONE POST

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 24 : A.D. 102
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Drōṇala/Vāsishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Isāpur in Mathura, Mathura Museum, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. J.Ph. Vogel, <i>A.S.I.</i> , <i>A.R.</i> , 1910-11, pp.40 and plate.

TEXT

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य षाहेर्व्वसिष्कस्य
राज्यसंवत्सरे चतुर्व्विंशे २० ४ ग्रीष्ममासे चतुर्थे ४ दिवसे त्रिंशे ३०
अस्यां पूर्व्व्यायां रुद्रिलपुत्रेण द्रोणलेन ब्राह्मणेन भारद्वाजसगोत्रेण माण-
च्छन्दोगेन इष्ट्वा सत्त्वेण द्वादशरात्त्रेण यूपः प्रतिष्ठापितः । प्रीयन्ता-
मग्नयः ॥

SUMMARY

Success! [This] post was set up by brāhmaṇa Drōṇala of the Bhādradvāja gōtra, a student of Chhandōga (i.e., Sāmavēda) and son of Rudrila after having performed¹ the sacrifice for 12 nights²,

on the 30th day in the fourth month of the Summer (season) in the year 24 in the reign³ of Shāhi Vāsishka

May the (sacrificial) fires⁴ be pleased !

NOTES

1. The expression *ishṭvā* in the text would convey the sense that this post was erected in memory of the sacrifice.

2. Sacrifices performed for a certain number of nights are named so after the number, as *dvirātra*, *trirātra*, *chatūrātra* etc. See *Taittiriya-samhitā*, VII, 2, 10. See for reference to other sacrifices Nos. 107 and 109 below.

3. This is the only inscription where the expression *rājya-samvatsarē* meaning 'regnal year' occurs. In the absence of independent regnal reckonings, for any king other than Kanishka I, this should be understood only as the years of the (Śaka) era. For Vāsishka see No. 86, note 3 and for Shāhi see No. 89 above, note 2.

4. The sacrificial fires are the three ritualistic ones called *gārhapatya* (house holder's fire kept on the west transmitted from father to son and onwards), *āhavaniya* (consecrated fire taken from householder's perpetual fire and kept on the east of the altar) and *dakṣiṇāgni* (similar fire kept on the south of the altar).

108. PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF NĀGARAKSHITA

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 25 : A.D. 103
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Nāgarakshita/Huvishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Mathura (Govindnagar), now in State Museum, Lucknow, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. S.P. Tewari, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XL, pp. 197-200 and plate.

TEXT

महाराजस्य हुबेष्कस्य सं २० ५ वल^१ दि २० ६ एत[य] पुवय
सत्त्वकस्य सत्थवहस्य [प्र*]पौत्रेण बलकीर्त्तिस्य श्रेष्ठिस्य नत्तिकेन बुद्ध-
पालितपुत्रेण नागरक्षितेन भगवतो बुद्धस्य अमिताभस्य प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापि
[ता] बुद्धपूजये इमेन काशलमलेन सर्व्वसत्त्वानां अनुत्तरं बुद्धज्ञानं [श्रावितं]

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य हुविष्कस्य सं २५ वैशाख दि २६ एतस्यां पूर्वायां
सत्त्वकस्य सार्थवाहस्य [प्र*]पौत्रेण बलकीर्त्तेः श्रेष्ठिनः नप्तृकेन बुद्ध-
पालितपुत्रेण नागरक्षितेन भगवतो बुद्धस्य अमिताभस्य प्रतिमा प्रति-
ष्ठापिता बुद्धपूजायै । अनेन कुशलमूलेन सर्व्वसत्त्वानां अनुत्तरं बुद्धज्ञानं
श्रावितम् ॥

SUMMARY

On the 26th day in the month of Vaiśākha in the 25th year (in the reign) of Mahārāja **Huveshka** (i.e., Huvishka) the image of the supreme Buddha **Amitābha** was set up for worship by **Nāgarakshita**, son of Buddhapālita, grandson² of the merchant Balakīrtti and the great grandson of Sattvaka, a caravan leader.

May Buddha's wisdom be communicated to all the sentient beings through this beneficial endowment.

NOTES

1. Tewari suggests the reading *Vai* for Vaiśākha on the basis of Amitābha's description as the presiding deity of summer (op.cit. p. 200).
2. Tewari has interpreted this as 'daughter's son'.

109. MEMORIAL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SŌMAYAŚAS

<i>Date</i>	.. 10082nd day : A.D. 105
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Vaḍgaon-Mādhavpur, near Belgaum, Belgaum Dist., Karnataka.
<i>Reference</i>	.. S. Sankaranarayanan, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXIX, pp. 183 ff. and plate.

TEXT

सोथि ॥ सोमयसस खंभः[1*]

मोल भंधुवगेन काठजस सोमयसस कंभो निठपितो गाढं असिति-
वाजपेय कांयकतुयायिस अनेक-यज्ञ-होम-धूम-गाहित दिसाभाग[स्य]
अणख वेजस्य साकेतकस बलपार्यसखस कस्सपसगोत्तस स्वर्गतस । दिव
१०००० ८० २

TEXT SANSKRITISED

स्वस्ति । सोमयशसः स्कम्भः ।

मौलबन्धुवर्गेण काठजस्य सोमयशसः स्कंभो निष्ठापितो गाढम्
अशीतिवाजपेयकाम्यक्रतुयाजिनः अनेकयज्ञहोमधूमग्राहितदिशाभागस्य
अनक्षवेद्यस्य साकेतकस्य बलपार्यसखस्य काश्यपसगोत्तस्य स्वर्गतस्य ।

दिवसे १०००० ८० २ ॥

SUMMARY

Hail!

(This is the memorial) pillar of Sōmayaśas

The pillar (in memory) of the late Sōmayaśas of the Kāśyapa-gōtra who knew Kaṭha-śākhā¹, who had performed 80 sacrifices including *Vājapēya*² and other wish-fulfilling rites, the fumes from which enveloped all directions, who was capable of deep intuition, who hailed from Sākēta³ and who was a friend of Balapārya was firmly erected by the group of local people and his relatives on the 10082nd day.⁴

NOTES

1. One of the recensions of the Yajur-Vēda popularised by the sage Kaṭha.
2. One of the seven forms of Sōma sacrifice offered by kings or Brāhmaṇas aspiring to the highest position.
3. The city of Ayōdhya in Uttar Pradesh or the country around it.
4. This figure, when divided by 365 (days for one year), yields 27 years and 227 days. When applied to Śaka era, the date falls on 3rd November, 105 A.D., which is supported by palaeography. This method of indicating the date by reckoning the number of days is known to have been applied to the Kaliyuga era as found in numerous medieval inscriptions in Kerala and Tamil Nadu. (T.A.S., VI, pp. 190-2; VII, p. 137, and *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 261).

110. MATHURĀ STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF PRĀCHĪNĪKA

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 28 : A.D. 106
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Prāchīnīka/Huvishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Mathurā, Mathura Museum, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sten Konow, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXI, pp. 60 f.

TEXT

सिद्धम् ॥

संवत्सरे २० च गुर्पिये दिवसे १

अयं पुण्यशाला प्राचिनोकन^१ सरुकमानपुत्रेण खरासलेर पतिन
वकनपतिना अक्षयनीवि दिन्ना ।

तुतो वृद्धितो मासानुमासं शुद्धस्य चतुदिशि पुण्यशालायं ब्राह्मणशतं
परिविषितव्यं । दिवसे दिवसे च पुण्यशालाये द्वारमुले धारिये साद्यंसक्तनां
आडका ३ लवृणप्रस्थो १ शक्तप्रस्थो १ हरितकलापक घटका ३ मल्लका
५ एतं अनाधानां कृतेन दातव्य वभक्षितन पिवसितनं ।

य चत्र पुण्य तं देवपुत्रस्य षाहिस्य हुविष्कस्य । येषा च देवपुत्रो
प्रियः तेषामपि पुण्य भवतु । सर्वायि च पृथिवीये पुण्य भवतु ।

अक्षयनिवि दिन्ना राकश्रेणीये पुराणशत ५०० ५०
समितकर श्रेणी[ये च] पुराण शत ५०० ५० ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥

संवत्सरे २८ गुर्पिये दिवसे १

इयं पुण्यशाला प्राचीनीकेन^१ सरुकमाणपुत्रेण खरासलेरपतिना
वकनपतिना अक्षयनीवी [च*] दत्ता ।

ततो वृद्धितो मासानुमासं शुद्धस्य चतुर्दश्यां पुण्यशालायां ब्राह्मणशतं
परिवेष्टितव्यं दिवसे दिवसे च पुण्यशालायाः द्वारमूले धार्यं स्वाद्यसक्तूनां
आढकाः ३ लवणप्रस्थः १ शुक्लप्रस्थः १ हारितकलापकघटकाः ३ मल्लकाः
५ एतत् अनाथानां कृतेन^२ दातव्यं, बभुक्षितानां पिपासितानां ।

यच्चात्र पुण्यं तत् देवपुत्रस्य पाहेः हुविष्कस्य । येषां च देवपुत्रः
प्रियः तेषामपि पुण्यं भवतु । सर्वस्याः च पृथिव्याः पुण्यं भवतु ।

अक्षयनीवी दत्ता । श्रेण्यां पुराणशतानि ५५० समिता-
करश्रेण्यां च पुराणशतानि ५५० ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the first day in the month of Gurpia^३ in the 28th year (in the
reign of Huvishka)

This hall of charity and a perpetual capital endowment^४ were
given by Prāchīnika, son of Sarukamāṇa and lord of (places called)
Kharāsalēra and Vakana

One hundred brāhmaṇas should be fed at this hall on the four-
teenth day of the bright fortnight in every month out of the interest
from this capital (endowment). At the entrance into the hall should
be kept on every day 3 *ādhakas*^५ of groats, one *prastha* of salt, one
prastha of sour beverage, 3 *ghaṭakas* and 5 *mallakas* of heaps of
green (vegetables) for the sake of the destitute, the hungry and the
thirsty

May the merit accruing out of this (go to) Dēvaputra Shāhi Huvishka, to those who are dear to him and to all on earth

The perpetual endowment is invested; 550 *purāṇas*⁶ with guild and 550 *purāṇas* with a guild dealing in wheat flour.

NOTES

1. This name is considered by Sircar (op. cit. p. 151) to be the personal name of the donor. Sten Konow interprets it as 'eastern'.
 2. The usage of this word is interesting.
 3. Greek month Gorpaios corresponding to Bhādra-Āśvina (October-November)
 4. *Akshaya-nīvī* is a treasure of capital amount (never to be depleted), only the interest from which is to be spent for the purpose specified.
 5. *Āḍhaka* is approximately equal to 256 handfuls. *Prastha* is 1/4 of an *āḍhaka*. *Ghaṭaka* is cup or jar and *mallaka* means drinking vessel.
 6. *Purāṇa* is the name of a particular coin of ancient times.
-

111. PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF MADHURIKĀ

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 28 : AD. 107
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Madhurikā/Vāsishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Sāñchī, Raisen Dist., Madhya Pradesh.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , Vol. I, No. 48, p. 150.

TEXT

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य षाहि वासिष्कस्य सं २० ङ
हे १ दि ५ एतस्यां पूर्वायां भगवतो स्य जम्बुछायाशैलाग्रस्थस्य
धर्मदेवविहारे प्रतिष्ठापिता खरस्य धितर मधुरिक णं देयधर्म¹
.

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य षाहि वासिष्कस्य सं २० हे
१ दि ५ एतस्यां पूर्वायां भगवतः [शाक्यमुनेः] जम्बुछायाशैलाग्रस्थस्य
धर्मदेवविहारे प्रतिष्ठापिता खरस्य दुहित्वा मधुरिकया [अनेन]
देयधर्म

SUMMARY

On the fifth day in the first month of the winter (season) in the
year 28 (in the reign) of Vāsishka¹

The image of Supreme [Buddha] was installed at the monastery of Dharmadēva on the spur (or top) of the hill (called) Jambuchchhāyā by Madhurikā, the daughter of Khara.

. . . . by this pious gift² . . .

NOTES

1. The reading परित्यागेन given by Sircar is not supported by the photograph of the inscription appearing in *Ep. Ind.*, II, opposite, p.368.

1. The king bears the titles Mahārāja, Rājātirāja, Dēvaputra and Shāhi. See Nos. 88 & 89 above for their meaning and significance.

2. Something like the usual benediction that this pious gift may bring happiness to all beings, was intended to be engraved here.

112. BŌDHISATVA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF DHANAVATĪ

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 33 : A.D. 111
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Dhanavatī/Huvishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Mathura, now in Lucknow Museum, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Bloch, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , VIII, pp. 181 and plate.

TEXT

महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुबिष्कस्य सं ३० ३ गृ १ दि ८ भिक्षुस्य बलस्य
त्रैपिटकस्य अन्तेवासिनीये भिक्षुणीये त्रैपिटिकाये बुद्धमित्राये भागिनेयीये
भिक्षुणीये धनवतीये बोधिसत्त्वो प्रतिथावितो मधुरवणके सहा मातापिति-
हि ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुबिष्कस्य सं ३३ ग्री १ दि ८ भिक्षोः बलस्य
त्रैपिटकस्य अन्तेवासिन्याः भिक्षुण्याः त्रैपिटिक्याः बुद्धमित्रायाः भागिनेय्या
भिक्षुण्या धनवत्या बोधिसत्त्वः प्रतिष्ठापितः मधुरवनके सह मातापितृ-
भ्याम्. ॥

SUMMARY

On the eighth day in the first month of the Summer (season)
in the year 33 (in the reign) of Mahārāja Dēvaputra Huvishka

[The image of] Bōdhisattva was set up at **Madhuravana** by the nun **Dhanavatī**, the sister's daughter of the nun Buddhāmitrā well-versed in Tripiṭaka, a female disciple² of the monk Bala well-versed in Tripiṭaka³, together with her mother and father

NOTES

1. Madhuravana is no doubt the grove at Mathurā (modern Mathurā).
2. Buddhāmitrā is described here only as the female disciple of Bala. See Nos. 81 and 86 above.
3. For Tripiṭaka see No. 86 above.

TEXT

TEXT SANSCRITIZED

113. WELL INSCRIPTION FROM ĀRĀ

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 41 : A.D. 119
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Dashaphara/Kanishka II
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Well in Ārā near Attock (now Lahore Museum), Pakistan.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 51, p. 154

TEXT

महरजस रजतिरजस देवपुत्रस कइसरस वझिष्पुत्रस कनिष्कस
संवत्सरए एकचपरिणए सं २० २० १ जेठस मसस दिवसे १ इशे दिवस
क्षुणमि खदे कुपे दषव्हरेण पोषपुरिअ पुत्रण मतर पितरण पुयए अत्मणस
सभर्यस सपुत्रस अनुग्रहर्थए सर्वसपण जतिषु छतए । इमो च लिखितो
मधु. ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कैसरस्य वासिष्कपुत्रस्य
कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकचत्वारिंशे सं ४१ ज्येष्ठस्य मासस्य दिवसे १
अस्मिन् दिवसक्षणे खातः कूपः दषफरेण पौषपुरिकपुत्रेण मातापित्रोः
पूजायै, आत्मनः सभार्यस्य सपुत्रस्य अनुग्रहार्थाय, सर्वसत्त्वानां जातिषु
छदाय । इदं च लिखितं मधु. ॥

SUMMARY

On the first day in the month of Jyēshṭha in the year 41¹ (in the reign) of Mahārāja Rājātīrāja Dēvaputra Kaisar² **Kanishka, son of Vāsishka**

On this occasion a well was excavated by **Dashaphara** belonging to Purushapura³ in honour of his parents, for (obtaining) grace for himself, his wife and son⁴ and for the protection of beings of all kinds

This was written by Madhu

NOTES

1. The date 41 is written as 20, 20, 1. Compare Nos. 110-112 above.
 2. The use of this title, same as Roman Caesar or German Kaiser, agrees with the usages in the north-western parts of India.
 3. Poshapura in the original lends itself to easy identification with Purushapura (modern Peshawar) in the region of Attock, the findspot of this inscription.
 4. The reading *atmaṇasa* (*ātmanah*) given by Sten Konow (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. p.165 and plate) is given here in preference to the reading *Hiraṇṇasa* by Sircar.
-

114. CAVE INSCRIPTION OF USHAVADĀTA—I

<i>Date</i>	.. [Śaka year 41 : A.D. 119] ¹
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit and Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Ushavadāta/Nahapāna
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka-Kshatrapa (Kshaharāta family)
<i>Location</i>	.. Back wall, Verandah, Cave No. 10 at Nasik, Maharashtra.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Senart, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , VIII, pp. 78 ff. No. 10 and plate.

TEXT

सिद्धम् ॥² राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामात्रा दीनीक-
पुत्रेण उषवदातेन त्रिगोशतसहस्रदेन नद्या बाणासायां सुवर्णदानतीर्थकरेण
देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडशग्रामदेन अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मणशतसाहस्रीभोजा-
पयित्वा प्रभासे पुण्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्याप्रदेन भरुकच्छे दशपुरे
गोवर्द्धने शोर्पारगे च चतुःशालावसधप्रतिश्रयप्रदेन आरामतडागउदपान-
करेण इवा पारादा दमण तापीकरवेणादाहनुकानावापुण्यतरकरेण एतासां
च नदीनां उभ[य]तोतीरं सभाप्रपाकरेण पींडीतकावडे गोवर्द्धने सुवर्णमुखे
शोर्पारगे च रामतीर्थे चरकपर्षभ्यः ग्रामे नानंगोले द्वात्रीशतनालीगेरमूल-
सहस्रप्रदेन गोवर्द्धने त्रीरश्मिषु पर्वतेषु धर्मात्मना इदं लेणं कारितं इमा
च पोढियो ॥ भटारका अत्रातिया च गतोस्मि वर्षारतुं मालयेहि
रुधं उतमभाद्रं मोचयितुं । ते च मालया प्रनादेनेव अपयाता उतमभद्रकानं
च क्षत्रियानं सर्वे परिग्रहा कृता । ततोस्मि गतो पोक्षरानि । तत्र च मया

अभिसेको कृतो त्रीणि च गोसहस्रानि दत्तानि ग्रामे च । दत्त चानेन क्षेत्रं
ब्राह्मणस्य वाराहिपुत्रस्य अश्विभूतिस्य हथे कीणिता मुलेन काहापणसहस्रैः
चतुर्हि ४००० यो सपितुसतकं नगरसीमायं उत्तरापरायं दीसायं । एतो
मम लेने वसतानं चातुदीसस्य भिक्षुसङ्घस्य मुख्याहारो भविसती ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नह्पानस्य जामाता दीनी-
कपुत्रेण उषवदातेन त्रिगोशतसहस्रदेन नद्यां बाणाशायां सुवर्णदानतीर्थ-
करेण, देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडशग्रामदेन, अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मणशत-
साहस्रीभोजयित्वा, प्रभासे पुण्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्याप्रदेन, भृगुकच्छे
दशपुरे गोवर्द्धने शूर्पारिके च चतुःशालावसथप्रतिश्रयप्रदेन, आरामतडागो-
दपानकरेण इवापारादादमनतापीकरवेणादाहनुकासु नावा पुण्यतरकरेण,
एतासां च नदीनां उभयतः तीरे सभाप्रपाकरेण, पिण्डितकावटे गोवर्द्धने
सुवर्णमुखे शूर्पारिके च रामतीर्थे चरकपर्षद्भ्यः ग्रामे नानंगोले द्वात्रिंशन्ना-
रिकेलमूलसहस्रप्रदेन, गोवर्द्धने त्रिरश्मिषु पर्वतेषु धर्मात्मना इदं लयनं
कारितम् । इमे च प्रहयः ॥ भट्टारकाज्ञप्त्या च गतः आसं वर्षतो मालवैः
रुद्धं औत्तमभाद्रं मोचयितुम् । ते च मालवाः प्रणादेन एव अपयाताः उत्तम-
भद्रकाणां च क्षत्रियाणां सर्वे परिग्रहाः कृताः । ततः आसं गतः पुष्करान् ।
तत्र च मया अभिषेकः कृतः । त्रीणि च गोसहस्राणि दत्तानि ग्रामश्च ।
दत्तं चानेन क्षेत्रं ब्राह्मणस्य वाराहीपुत्रस्य अश्विभूतेः हस्तेन क्रीत्वा
मूल्यानं कार्षापणसहस्रैः चतुर्भिः ४०००, यत् स्वपितृस्वत्वकं नगरसीम्नि
उत्तरापरायां दिशायाम् । एतस्मात् मम लयने वसतः चातुर्दिशस्य
भिक्षुसङ्घस्य मुख्याहारो भविष्यति ॥

SUMMARY

Success! This cave and the cisterns in the Tiraśmi hills at Gōvardhana were created by the charity-minded Ushavadāta³, the son of Dīnika and son-in-law of king Kshaharāta-Kshatrapa⁴ Nahapāna,

Who gave three hundred thousand cows; made gifts of gold and constructed bathing places (*tīrthas*)⁵ on the river Bārṇāsa; gave sixteen villages to gods and brāhmaṇas; fed (is feeding) annually hundred thousand brāhmaṇas; gave eight (girls) to brāhmaṇas as wives⁶ at the sacred place of Prabhāsa; built quadrangular rest-houses for shelter at Bharukachha, Daśapura, Gōvardhana and Sōrpāraga; created wells, tanks, and gardens, established free ferries by boats on the rivers Ibā, Pārādā, Damana, Tāpī, Karabēṇā and Dāhanukā; erected meeting-places on both the banks of these rivers and also arranged for free distribution of water and who gave thirty-two thousand cocoanut saplings at Nānaṅgōla to the assembly of Charakas⁷ at Piṇḍita-Kāvaḍa, Gōvardhana, Suvarṇamukha and at Rāmatīrtha in Sōrpāraga.⁸

(I), by order of the lord went to release the chief of Uttamabhadras besieged in the rainy season by the Mālavas,⁹ who fled at the very roar of his army and made all protections for Uttamabhadras.

I went to Pokshara (tank) and gave after sacred bathing, three thousand cows and a village.

A field at the north-western boundary of the town, purchased from brāhmaṇa Aśvibhūti, son of Vārāhi¹⁰, for 4000 *Kārshāpaṇas*¹¹ will be utilised to provide for the main food for monks coming from all directions and residing in this cave.

NOTES

1. This date is assigned on the basis of the identity of these grants with the ones summed up and mentioned in No.117.
2. This is a symbol called *Svastika* indicating auspicious beginnings.
3. The name Ushavadāta is retained in preference to Rishabhadatta (Sanskritised) given by Sircar, keeping in mind that the following passage is couched in Sanskrit as they pertain to endowments for Vedic scholars. Names of persons and places in this passage are not changed.
4. Though Śōḍāsa of No. 76 above also calls himself a *mahākshatrapa*, he is of Scytho-Parthian extraction. Nahapāna and the other kings represented in the following inscriptions are known as Śaka-Kshatrapa. Kshatrapa itself would mean only protector of a kingdom.

5. Sircar takes this as *Sōpāna* i.e., step-stones for bathing.
6. It is obvious that the merit for *Kanyādāna* (giving virgins in marriage) is implied here.
7. This word (*Charaka*) may better be understood, in view of the context, as physicians so called after the famous sage who gave us *Āyurvēda*, as against wandering ascetics.
8. The geographical entities in the text are identified here in the order of their mention; Bārṇāsā is Banas, a tributary of the Chambal; Prabhāsa is Prabhās-paṭhan in Kāṭhiāwār; Bharukachcha is Broach in Thana District, Maharashtra; Daśapura-Mandasor in Madhya Pradesh; Gövardhana is near Nasik in Maharashtra; Sōrpārāga-Sōpāra in Thana District; Among the rivers Tāpī is Tāptī; Damana is Damangaṅga flowing by the former Portuguese town of Daman. Dāhanukā is possibly near the former Portuguese town Dahanu; Pārādā is Pār in Surat District. Nānaṅgōla is Nārgol (?) near Sanjan in Thana District and Pokshara is Pushkara (near Ajmere).
9. Following Bhagawanlal, Sircar has equated Mālaya of the original text with Mālavas, one of the many ancient tribes of Northern India. See No. 54 above. Senart interprets the word *parigraha* as imprisonment and Sircar follows him. But the word would mean only 'security' as justified by the context.
10. His mother's spiritual lineage.
11. *Kārshāpaṇa* is a silver coin.

115. BĀNDHŌGARH INSCRIPTION OF PHALGUNA

<i>Date</i>	.. c. A.D. 120
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Phalguna/Chitrasēna
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Wall in cave No. 10, southwest of Gōpāl- pur, Bāndhōgarh, former Rewa State, Madhya Pradesh.
<i>Reference</i>	.. N.P. Chakravarti, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXI, p. 184, No. XV and plate.

TEXT

वासिष्ठिपुत्रस्य सिरि चित्रसेनस पर्वतवाथवेन वाणिजकेन पुसक-
पुतेन फल्गुनेन लताघरा खानिता ¹

TEXT SANSKRITISED

वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्री चित्रसेनस्य । पर्वतवास्तव्येन वाणिजकेन पुष्य-
कपुत्रेण फल्गुनेन लतागृहाणि खानितानि

SUMMARY

(During the time) of Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Chitrasēna². The cave-
dwellings are excavated³ by the trader Phalguna, son of Pushyaka
and a resident of Parvata.

NOTES

1. The continuation is worn out.

2. There seems to be an omission in the text as recorded. Chirtasēna's status and identity are not disclosed. He was probably a chieftain of the region as to justify a mention. Palaeography suggests an early date close to the reign of king Vaiśravaṇa (No. 121 below), before the times of Mahārāja Bhīmasēna (contra, N.P. chakravarti, op.cit.)

3. One or two more caves nearby seem to have been excavated by this chief, though this is the only inscription.

116. JAINA IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM MATHURĀ

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 44 : A.D. 122
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmi
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Huvishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Kankāli Tīla near Mathura, Mathura Museum, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 52, p. 155.

TEXT

स्व¹ ॥ नम अरहतम² । महरजस्य हुवक्षस्य सवसरे ४० ४ पन
गृस्य मस ३ दिवस २ एतय पूर्वय गने अर्यचेटियिगकुले
हरितमालकढि[यकशखय][वा]चकस्य हगनंदिस्य शिसगन
. तगसेण दन.

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः अर्हत्तमाय । महाराजस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे ४४
पुनः ग्रीष्मस्य मासे ३ दिवसे २ एतस्यां पूर्वायां [.. वारण] गणे
आर्यचेटीयककुले हरितमालगढीयकशाखायां वाचकस्य भगनन्दिनः
शिष्यकेण तकाशेन दत्ता [प्रतिमा] ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

Salutation to the great Arhat

On the 2nd day in the third month of summer in the 44th year
(in the reign) of mahārāja **Huvishka**

[This image was given] by . . . takāśa, the disciple of Bhaganandi, a preacher belonging to . . . Vāraṇagaṇa, Āryachēṭiyakakula and Haritamāla-gaḍhiyaka-śākhā.³

NOTES

1. stands for *siddham*
2. The reading *Arhatama* is better than *Arahatava* given by Sircar.
3. Every Jaina teacher was always quoted in inscriptions as belonging to a *gaṇa* (group), *kula* (lineage), and *śākhā* (branch) etc.

117. CAVE INSCRIPTION OF USHAVADĀTA—II

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka year 45 : A.D. 123.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Ushavadāta/Nahapāna
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka-Kshatrapa (Kshaharāta family)
<i>Location</i>	.. Back wall of the verandah, Cave No. 10, Nasik, Maharashtra.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Senart, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , VIII, pp. 82 ff. No. 12 and plate.

TEXT

सिधं ॥ वसे ४० २ वेसाखमासे राज्रो क्षहरातस क्षत्रपस नहपानस
जामातरा दीनीकपुत्रेन उषवदातेन संघस चातुदिसस इमं लेणं नियातितं ।
दत्त चानेन अक्षयनिवि काहापण सहस्रानि त्रीणि ३००० संघस चातुदिसस
ये इमस्मि लेणे वसांतानं भविसंति चिवरिक कुशाणमूले च । एते च
काहापणा प्रयुता गोवधनं वाथवासु श्रेणिषु । कोलीक निकाये २००० वृद्धि
पडिकशत अपर कोलीक निकाये १००० वद्धि पायून पडिकशत । एते च
काहापणा अपडिदातवा वद्धिभोजा । एतो चिवरिक सहस्रानि बे २०००
ये पडिके सते । एतो मम लेणे वसवुधान भिखुनं वीसाय एकीकस चिवरिक
वारसक । य सहस्रप्रयुतं पायुन पडिके शति अतो कुशाणमूल । कापूराहारे
च गामे चिखलपट्टे दत्तानि नालिगेरान मुलसहस्राणि अठ ८००० ।

एत च सर्वं स्नावित निगम सभाय निवध च फलकवारे चरित्ततो
ति । भूयोनेन दत्तं वसे ४० १ कातिक शूधे पनरस पुवाक वसे ४० ५

. पनरस नियुतं भगवतां देवानं ब्राह्मणानं च कार्षापण सहस्रानि
सतरि ७०००० पञ्चत्रिंशक सुवर्ण कृता दिन सुवर्णसहस्रणं मूल्यं फलकवारे
चरित्रतो ति ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ वर्षे ४२ वैशाखमासे राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नह-
पानस्य जामात्रा दीनीकपुत्रेण उषवदातेन (or ऋषभदत्तेन) सङ्घाय
चातुर्दिशाय इदं लयनं निर्यातितम् । दत्ता चानेन अक्षयनीविः कार्षापण-
सहस्राणि त्रीणि ३००० सङ्घाय चातुर्दिशाय, या अस्मिन् लयने वसतां
भविष्यति चैवरिकं कुशलमूलम् च । एतानि च कार्षापणानि प्रयुक्तानि
गोवर्द्धने वास्तव्यासु श्रेणिषु । कौलिकनिकाये २०००, वृद्धिः प्रतिकशतं,
अपरकौलिकनिकाये १००० वृद्धिः पादोनप्रतिकशतम् । एतानि च कार्षा-
पणानि अप्रतिदातव्यानि, वृद्धिभोज्यानि । एतयोः चैवरिकं सहस्रे द्वे
२०००, ये प्रतिकशतम् । अतो मम लयने वास्तव्यानां भिक्षूणां विंशतये
एकैकस्य चैवरिकं द्वादशकम् । यत् सहस्रं प्रयुक्तं पादोनप्रतिकशतम्, अतः
कुशलमूलम् । कर्पूराहारे च ग्रामे चिखलपद्रे दत्तानि नारिकेलानां मूल-
सहस्राणि अष्ट ८००० ।

एतच्च सर्वं श्रावितं निगमसभायां निबद्धं च फलकवारे चरित्रत इति ।
भूयोऽनेन दत्तं वर्षे ४१ कार्तिकशुद्धे पञ्चदशे पौर्विकं वर्षे ४५
पञ्चदशे नियुक्तं भगवद्भ्यो देवेभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च कार्षापणसहस्राणि
सप्तति ७०००० पञ्चत्रिंशत्कं सुवर्णं कृत्वा द्वयोः सुवर्णसहस्रयोः मूल्यम्
फलकवारे चरित्रत इति ॥

SUMMARY

Success ! in the month Vaiśākha² in the year 42.²

[I]-Ushavadāta, the son of Dīnīka and the son-in-law of Ksha-
harāta Kshatrapa Nahapāna donated this cave to the *saṃgha*
(members) coming from four (i.e. all) directions and also created a

perpetual endowment of 3000 *Kārshāpaṇas* for providing them with clothes and welfare like bed, medicine etc.

Two thousand *Kārshāpaṇas* have been invested in a weavers' (*Kaulika*) association and one thousand in another weavers' association among the guilds resident at Gōvardhana not to be repaid but yielding interest at the rate of one per cent and three-fourth per cent respectively per month. The former is meant for apparel and the latter for bed, medicine etc., for the twenty monks staying at my cave.

Eight thousand coconut saplings (planted) at Chikhalapadra in Kāpūra³ district were also given.

All these have been announced at the town hall and also registered at the record office according to custom.

Also the donation of seventy thousand *Kārshāpaṇas* equal to two thousand *suvarṇas* (gold coins) at the rate of 35 per *suvarṇa* made previously on the fifteenth day in the bright fortnight in the year 41² is set apart for the venerable gods and brāhmaṇas and also (is registered) at the record office according to custom (now) in the year 45.²

NOTES

1. Inscriptions of the Śaka-Kshatrapas do not mention the names of the season as in the case of Kushāṇa inscriptions; instead they give the Indian names of the months and also of the fortnights as in this inscription.

2. The year 42 mentioned here and the years 41 and 45 mentioned in the last paragraph make this a composite record. While the year 42 is the date when the main grant which is the same as the one recorded in No. 114 above, the year 45 is the date of registration. The last paragraph is apparently a postscript even as the characters show (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, plate facing p. 82).

3. Chikhalapadra is probably the name as Chikhaldā near Kapura in Baroda District in the state of Gujarat.

118. NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF DAKSHAMITRĀ

<i>Date</i>	.. (Circa 119-24 A.D.)
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Dakshamitrā , wife of Ushavadāta/ Nahapāna
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka-Kshatrapa (Kshaharāta family)
<i>Location</i>	.. Verandah over the doorway, last cell, cave No. 10, Nasik, Maharashtra
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 60, p. 170-171.

TEXT

सोधं ॥ रांओ क्षहरातस क्षत्रपस नहपानस दीहितु दीनीकपुत्रस
उषवदातस कुडुंबिनिय दक्षमित्राय देयधम्म ओवरको ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य दुहितुः दीनीक-
पुत्रस्य उषवदातस्य कुटुम्बिन्याः दक्षमित्रायाः देयधर्मः अपवरकः ॥

SUMMARY

Success! This cell (is) the pious gift of **Dakshamitrā**, the wife of Ushavadāta and the daughter of king Kshaharāta Kshatrapa Nahapāna.

119. NASIK INSCRIPTION OF GAUTAMĪPUTRA SĀTAKARṆI

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 18=c. A.D. 124.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Cave No. 3, verandah, east wall, Nasik, Nasik District, Maharashtra.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 83, p. 197.

TEXT

सिधं ॥ सेनाये वेजयंतिये विजयखधावारा गोवधनस बेनाकटक-
स्वामि गोतमिपुतो सिरिसदकणि आनपयति गोवधने अमच विण्हुपालितं ।
गामे अपरकखडिये य खेतं अजकालकियं उसभदतेन भूतं निवतनसतानि
बे २०० एत अम्ह खेत निवतनसतानि बे २०० इमेस पवजितान
तेकिरसिण वितराम । एतस चस खेतस परिहार वितराम अपवेसं
अनोमस अलोणखादकं अरठसविनायिकं सवजातपारिहारिक च । एतेहि नं
परिहारेहि परिहरहि । एते चस खेतपरिहारे च एथ निवधापेहि । अवियेन
आणतं । अमचेन सिवगुतेन छतो । महासामियेहि उपरखितो । दता पटिका
सवछरे १० ८ वास पखे २ दिवसे १ । तापसेन कटा ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ सेनायाः विजयमानायाः विजयस्कन्धावारात् गोवर्द्धनस्य
 बेनाकटकस्वामी गौतमीपुत्रः श्रीसातकर्णिः आज्ञापयति गोवर्द्धने अमात्यं
 विष्णुपालितम् । ग्रामे अपरकखट्यां यत् क्षेत्रम् अद्यकालकीयं ऋषभदत्तेन
 भुक्तं निवर्त्तनशते द्वे २००, एतत् अस्मत् क्षेत्रं निवर्त्तनशते द्वे २००,
 एभ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः त्रैरश्मिकेभ्यः वितरामः । एतस्य च अस्य क्षेत्रस्य
 परिहारं वितरामः अप्रावेश्यं अनवमर्ष्यं अलवणखातकं अराष्ट्रसांविनयिकं
 सर्वजातिपारिहारिकं च । एतैः एनत् परिहारैः परिहर । एतत् च अस्य
 क्षेत्रपरिहारं च अत्र निवन्धय । उक्तेन आज्ञप्तम् । अमात्येन शिवगुप्तेन
 क्षतम् । महास्वामिकैः उपलक्षितम् । दत्ता पट्टिका संवत्सरे अष्टादशे
 १८ वर्षापक्षे द्वितीये २ दिवसे प्रथमे १ । तापसेन कृता ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, the lord of Benākāṭaka¹ in (the Gōvardhana (District) ordered the minister Vishṇupālita at Gōvardhana from the victorious camp of the army (which was) gaining success²:

We bestow on these ascetics at Triraśmi (mountain)³ lands at the village of western Kakhaḍi (to the extent of) 200 *nivarttanās* enjoyed till date by Ushabhadata⁴ and 200 *nivarttanās* of our own. Grant exemption for these lands from the right of entry by others; (these are) not to be meddled, not to be mined for salt and not to be interrupted by officers controlling the state and also (exempted) from all kinds of levies. Register this assignment with details of exemptions.⁵

Ordered orally. Committed to writing by the minister Śivagupta and compared by the *mahāśvāmīs*⁶. The document is handed

over on the first day of the second fortnight in the rainy season in the 18th (regnal) year⁷. Engraved by Tāpasa.

NOTES

1. This probably refers to a place on the river Beṇā, Beṇṇa or Beṇvā in the Nasik region. The metronymic Gautamīputra is used for the first time in respect of this Sātakarṇi obviously to distinguish him from the famous Sātakarṇi I, mentioned in inscription No. 66 above.

2. The expression *Vejayantiyē* in the original has been understood by Senart (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 71) as referring to Banavāsi in Karnataka also known as Vaijayantī. But the construction of the passage in which it is qualifying the word *sēnā* (army), as pointed out by Sircar, would yield only the meaning given here.

3. See No. 114 above. Triraśmi was the name of the hill in which the caves are found.

4. One *nivarttana* of land varied in extent ranging from 3/4 acre to 4-3/4 acres according to the times and the areas.

5. See No. 25 above recording grant of exemption from taxes. by Aśōka. The present inscription gives for the first time details of such exemptions.

6. The same functionaries are called *paṭṭikā-pālakas* in No. 137 below.

7. The Sātavāhana kings did not use any era. The inscriptions of their times quote only the regnal years of the respective kings. The dates in Christian era are arrived at approximately by judging the sequence of events in their reigns as related to those of their contemporaries recorded in their inscriptions and *vice versa*. The date of this record is obtained by the reference to the king's extirpation of Kshaharāta family in No. 130 below.

120. JUNNAR INSCRIPTION OF ARYAMAN

<i>Date</i>	.. [Śaka] 46 : 124 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Aryaman/Nahapāna
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kshaharāta
<i>Location</i>	.. Cave, wall, Junnār, Pune District, Maharashtra.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Bühler, <i>Arch. Surv. W. Ind.</i> , IV, p. 103 and plate.

TEXT

[राज्ञो*] महखतपस सामिनहपानस आमतस वछसगोतस अयमस
[दे*]यधम च(पो)ढि मटपो च पुञ्चथय वसे ४० ६ कतो [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITISED

राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिनहपानस्य अमात्यस्य वत्ससगोत्रस्य
अयम्पुनः देयधर्मः प्रहिः मण्डपः च पुञ्चार्थाय वर्षे ४६ कृतः ॥

SUMMARY

The cistern and the hall are the pious gifts made in the year 46 by Aryaman of the spiritual lineage of Vatsa, the minister of king Mahākshatrapa, Svāmi Nahapāna.

121. BĀNDHŌGARH CAVE INSCRIPTION OF VAIŚRAVAṆA

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 125 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmi
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Vaiśravaṇa
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kings of Bāndhōgarh
<i>Location</i>	.. Left of the verandah, Cave No. 13, Bāndhōgarh, (former Rewa State), Madhya Pradesh.
<i>Reference</i>	.. N.P. Chakravarti, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXI, No. XVIII, p. 185 and plate.

TEXT

महासेनापतेर्भद्रबालस्य पुत्रेण राजा वैश्रवणेन इदं लातागृहं¹ खानितं

SUMMARY

This cave-dwelling² was excavated by king (*rājan*) Vaiśravaṇa³, son of the great commander (*Mahāsēnāpati*)⁴ Bhadrabāla.

NOTES

1. The intended reading is लयनगृहं
2. Since this and the following inscriptions from Bāndhōgarh do not indicate the affiliation of the rulers it is difficult to say whether these artificial caves were meant for the use of the Buddhist monks following the trend of the contemporary times or for the use of the Śaiva ascetics, or as picnic spots (see No. 148 below).
3. Vaiśravaṇa was the first king of this line of rulers of Bāndhōgarh region. He had the humble title of king (*rājan*) while his two successors, probably his son Bhīmasēna (129-30 A.D.) and the latter's son Praushthaśrī (upto 166 A.D.) and Bhaṭṭadēva (168 A.D.) who was probably the son of Praushthaśrī, are called Mahārāja.
4. The king's name under whom he served is not known.

122. INSCRIPTION OF THE PEDESTAL OF THE SAMBHAVANĀTHA IMAGE

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 48 : A.D. 126
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Yaśā/Huvishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. [Originally from Mathura, now] Provincial Museum, Lucknow, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 53, p. 156.

TEXT

महाराजस्य हुवेक्षस्य सवचर ४० ङ व २ दि १० ७ एतस्य पुवायं
कोलेये गणे वमदासिये कुले पचनगरियशाकाय घत्रवलस्य शिशिनिये
घत्रशिरिये निवतन वधुकस्य वधुये शवत्तातपोत्रिये यशाये दान संभवस्य
प्रोदिम प्रतस्थपित ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे ४८ व २ दि १८ एतस्यां पूर्वायां
कोलेये गणे ब्रह्मदासीये कुले पञ्चनगरीयशाखायां धान्यपालस्य (or
धान्यवलस्य) शिष्यायाः धान्यश्रियाः निवर्त्तनात् बन्धुकस्य वध्वाः
शर्वत्तातपौट्याः यशायाः दानं सम्भवस्य प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता ॥

SUMMARY

On the 17th day in the 2nd month in the rainy season of the
48th year (in the reign) of mahārāja Huvishka

[This] image of Sambhava¹, installed, is the gift of Yaśā, the daughter-in-law of Bandhuka and grand-daughter of Śarvatrāta at the instance of Dhānyaśrī, the disciple of Dhānyapāla (or Dhānyabala) belonging to Kōlēya-gaṇa, Brahmadāsīyakula and Pañchanagarīya-śākhā.²

NOTES

1. Sambhavanathā is the third of the 24 (Jaina) *tīrthaṅkaras*, whose symbol is the horse, not traceable on the pedestal which shows, instead, a *triratna* (*Jina*, *Saṅga* and *dharma*) symbol (a three-pronged symbol supported by a small wheel, and supporting a larger one) flanked by a male and a female each bearing a flywhisk. He is known to have a fly-whisk (chowrie) bearer called Satyavīrya.

2. See note 3 on No.116 above.

123. MATHURĀ INSCRIPTION OF HUVISHKA

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 50 : A.D. 127-28
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Huvishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā, Mathurā, Uttar Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. S. Subramonia Iyer, <i>Journal of the Ep. Society of India</i> , X, No. 10, pp. 71-72.

TEXT

महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे ५० . . . ४ दि ५
एतस्यां पूर्वायां सार्थवाहेन इन्द्रवलपुत्रेण भवदत्तस्य भ्रात्रा पुरोहशलाकेन
सिंहिल सु स न निचलाकरोद्धान्यवर्मविहारे आचार्य
परिग्रहे सह मातापितृभ्यः सर्वसत्त्वानां हि[तसुखार्थं ॥]

SUMMARY

On the fifth day in the . . . month in the 50th year (in the reign) of Maharāja Dēvaputra **Huvishka**

. . . . made¹ permanent by Purōhaśālāka² belonging to a caravan, son of Indrabala and brother of Bhavadatta along with his parents and entrusted to the preceptor at the monastery of Dhānyavarman for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

NOTES

1. The names of the person who made, and of the object made, as well, are lost. Possibly Purōhaśālāka made the original object or grant which was confirmed or strengthened by another.

2. The name Purōhaśālāka occurs in an inscription engraved on the pedestal of a Buddhist statue dated in the reign of Kanishka (See *Mathura Inscriptions*, Lüders, ed. by Klaus L. Janert, 1961, No. 26, p. 61).

124. PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF BUDDHAVARMAN

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 51 : A.D. 129
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Buddhavarman/Huvishka
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Jamālpur Mound; Mathurā, U.P., Now in Provincial Museum, Lucknow, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Lüders, <i>Mathurā Inscriptions</i> , No. 29, p. 64 and plate.

TEXT

महारजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे ५० १ हेमन्तमास १ दिव . . . एतस्यां पुर्वायां भिक्षुणा बुद्धवर्मणा भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापित सर्वपुद्गलपूजार्थम् । अनेन देयधर्मपरित्यागेन उपाध्यायस्य सघदासस्य निर्वाणावाप्तयेस्तु मातापित्रो च । बुद्धार्थ इदं च दानं बुद्धवर्मस्य सर्वदुःखोपशमाय सर्वसत्त्वहितसुखार्थं महाराजदेवपुत्रविहारे ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे ५१ हेमन्तमासे १ दिवसे एतस्यां पूर्वायां भिक्षुणा बुद्धवर्मणा भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता सर्वपुद्गलपूजार्थम् । अनेन देयधर्मपरित्यागेन उपाध्यायस्य सङ्घदासस्य निर्वाणावाप्तये अस्तु मातापित्रोश्च । बुद्धार्थ इदं च दानं बुद्धवर्मणः सर्वदुःखोपशमाय सर्वसत्त्वहितसुखार्थं महाराजदेवपुत्रविहारे ॥

SUMMARY

On the . . . day in the first month of the winter season in the 51st year (in the reign of) **Huvishka**

The image of the supreme Śākya sage (Buddha)¹ is set up at the Mahārāja Dēvaputra's monastery, by the monk **Buddhavarman** for the worship of all the Buddhas.² May (the merit arising out of) this gift obtain the emancipation of the teacher Saṅghadāsa, and also of his parents.

May it be for the cessation of all unhappiness of Buddhavarman and for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings!

NOTES

1. See No. 25 above on Śākya-muni.
 2. This refers to all those who have achieved the state of enlightenment as the great Buddha himself.
-

125. KHAWAT BRONZE VASE INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 51 : A.D. 129
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Vagra-Marega / [Huvishka]
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Ruined Stūpas, Khawat (Wardak) about 46 kms. west of Kabul, Afghanistan.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 55, p. 158.

TEXT

सं २० २० १० १ म[स]स्य अर्थ मिसिय सस्तेहि १० ४ १ इमेण
गङ्गिणे^१ कमगुल्यपुत्र वग्रमरेग्र स इय खवदमि कदलयिग्र वग्रमरिग्र
विहरमि थुस्तिमि भगवद शक्यमुणे शरिर परिठवेति । इमेण कुशलमुलेण
महरज रजतिरज होवेष्कस्य अग्र भगए भवतु । मदपिदर मे पुयए भवतु ।
भदर मे ह्ण्थुणः मरेग्रस्य पुयए भवतु । योचा मे भुय णतिग्रमित्तसंभति-
ग्रण पुयए भवतु । महिय च वग्रमरेग्रस्य अग्रभगपडियंशए भवतु ।
सर्वसत्वण अरोगदक्षिणए भवतु । अविय नरग्रपर्यत यवभवग्र यो अत्र
अंतरं अंडजो जलयुग शप(फ)तिग अरुप्यत सविण पुयए भवतु । महिय
च रोहण सद सविण अवषड्गिण सपखिर च अग्रभगपडियंशए
भवतु मिथ्यगस्य च अग्रभग भवतु ॥ एष विहरं अचर्यण महसधिगण
परिग्रह ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सं ५१ मासस्य अर्थमिस्याः सस्तेहि १५ अनेन घटिकेन कमगुल्यपुत्रः
वग्रमरेगः स इह खवदे कृतालयकः वग्रमरेगविहारे स्तूपे भगवतः

शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं प्रतिष्ठापयति । अनेन कुशलमूलेन महाराजराजातिराज
हुविष्कस्य अग्रभागाय भवतु मातापित्रोः मे पूजायै भवतु भ्रातुः मे
हृष्युणः मरेगस्य पूजायै भवतु । एतच्च मे भूयः ज्ञातिकमित्संभ्रातृकाणां
पूजायै भवतु । मम च वग्नमरेगस्य अग्रभागप्रत्यंशाय भवतु । सर्वसत्त्वाना-
मारोग्यदक्षिणायै भवतु । अपि च नरकपर्यन्तात् यावद्भूवाग्रं योऽत्र अन्तरे
अण्डजः जरायुकः शष्पादिकं अरूप्यात्मा सर्वेषां पूजायै भवतु । मम च
रोहणां सदा सर्वेषामपाषण्डिकानां सपरिवारं च अग्रभागप्रत्यंशाय भवतु ।
मिथ्यागस्य च अग्रभागः भवतु । एष विहारः आचार्याणां माहासाङ्घिकानां
परिग्रहः ॥

SUMMARY

On the 15th day in the month of Arthamisios² in the 51st³ year
(in the reign of **Huvishka**)

Vagra-Marega⁴ got installed the body (i.e. relic) of the supreme
Śākya sage (i.e. Buddha) in the *stūpa* at the Vagra-Marēga monastery
here at Khavada (Khawat)

May this source of welfare be in the first instance for the bene-
fit of Mahārāja, King of kings, **Huvishka**; for the honour of my par-
ents; for the honour of my brother Hashthuna-Marega⁴; also for
the honour of friends and relatives; and also for the foremost
benefit of myself Vagra-Marega; and for the health of all sentient
beings.

Moreover let it be for the honour of all beings like those born
of egg, grass or sweat, from the heavens, here in the middle, upto
Hell⁵; also for the foremost benefit of the future generations of my
family, co-religionists and the adherents of false religions.

This monastery is left in charge of the preceptors of the Mahā-
sāṅghika (school)

NOTES

1. Sircar rightly observes; 'The seemingly unnecessary subscript *r* is used in these records to modify the sounds of the consonants'.
2. This Greek month Artemisios is the same as Vaiśākha Jyēshṭha (May-June).
3. Written as 20, 20, 10 and 1.
4. Marega is evidently the name of the family.
5. All living beings have been classified into four categories such as (1) Cattle, deer, tigers, demons, devils and men born of wombs; (2) birds, snakes lizards, fish and tortoises born of eggs laid in land or water; (3) all plants sprouting from out of the earth and (4) mosquitoes, lice, bugs and bees born out of sweat (see *Manusāhita*, 1, 43-53). Buddhist works refer to 1) *aṇḍaja*, (2) *jalabuja*, 3) *saṁsedaja* or *sedaja* and 4) *opapātika* (i.e. *aupapātika*) born of accident without the agency of parents.

126. BĀNDHŌGAṚH CAVE INSCRIPTION OF MERCHANTS

<i>Date</i>	.. [Śaka] year 51 : A.D. 129
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Phalgusama and others/Bhīmasēna
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kings of Bāndhōgaṛh
<i>Location</i>	.. In a cave between the Ganesh Pahād and the Rāmagiri hills.
<i>Reference</i>	.. N.P. Chakravarti, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XXXI, p. 177, No. I and plate.

TEXT

सिधं । महाराजस वासिठीपुतस सिरि भीमसेणस सवछरे एकपने
५० १ वसपखे पचमे ५ दिवसे अठमे ८ एताए पूरुवए लातघर खनित
गोठिकेहि वेजभरधनेगमो फगुसमक नेगमो मद सुवनकरो बलमितो नेगमो
सिवसको काठिकारिककमार सको नेगम चेति वनिजको सिवधरो वनिजको
तीरो ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् । महाराजस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीभीमसेनस्य संवत्सरे
एकपञ्चाशे ५१ वर्षापक्षे पञ्चमे ५ दिवसे अष्टमे ८ एतस्यां पूर्वायां
लातागृहं^१ खनितं गोष्ठिकैः वेजभरधनैगमः फल्गुसमः नैगमः मदः
सुवर्णकारः बलमित्रः नैगमः शिवसखः काष्ठकारि कर्मारः शक्रः नैगमः
चेतिः वणिजकः शिवधरः वणिजकः तीरः ।

SUMMARY

Success!

On the 8th day in the 5th fortnight of the rainy season in the 51st year² in the reign of Mahārāja Vāsishṭhīputra³ Śrī-Bhīmasēna⁴

A cave-dwelling was excavated by a committee (consisting of) Phalgusama, merchant from Vejabharadha, merchant (*naigama*)⁵ Mada, the goldsmith Balamitra, merchant Śivasakha, carpenter and blacksmith Śakra, merchant Chēti, trader Śivadhara and trader Tira.

NOTES

1. The intended reading is लयनगृहं
2. This year has to be assigned to the Śaka era only. See Chakravarti, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 175-6.
3. This means 'son of Vāsishṭhī' i.e., a lady of the spiritual lineage of sage Vasishṭha.
4. A clay seal excavated from Bhīta near Allahabad (*An. Rep. ASI*, 1911-12, p.51 and plate) bears a legend in similar characters reading 'Rājñah Vāsasu-puttrasya Śrī Bhīmasēnasya' meaning 'Seal of king Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Bhīmasēna' who is identical with the king of the present record. The circular seal bears on the top a bow with arrow and a pile of balls. There is a partially preserved inscription written in red paint on the back wall of a big hall on an overhanging rock on the Giñja hill 40 miles to the southwest of Allahabad. The preserved portion gives the date of the inscription as year 52 (i.e. Śaka 52 = A.D. 130) in the reign of Mahārāja Bhīmasēna who is the same as the king of the present record.
5. *Nigama* means 'merchant-guild'. As applied to a person it means a member of a guild who should have been a merchant.

**127. MEMORIAL STONE INSCRIPTIONS
FROM ANDHAU**

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 52 : A.D. 130
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Chashtāna and Rudradāman
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka-Kshatrapa (Kārdamaka family)
<i>Location</i>	.. Andhau, Khāvḍā (or Pachchham), Kutch District, Gujarat.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, Nos. 63-66, p. 173 ff.

TEXT

A

राज्ञो चाष्टनस य्सामोतिकपुत्रस राज्ञो रुद्रदामस जयदामपुत्रस वर्षे
द्विपंचाशे ५० २ फगुणबहुलस द्वितियवारे २ मदनेन सीहिलपुत्रेन भगिनिये
जेष्ठवीराये सीहिलधित[ए] ओपशतिसगोत्राये लष्टि उथापित ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

राज्ञः चाष्टनस्य जामोतिकपुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदामपुत्रस्य[च]
वर्षे द्विपंचाशे ५२ फाल्गुनबहुलस्य द्वितीयवारे २ मदनेन सिंहिलपुत्रेण
भगिन्याः ज्येष्ठवीरायाः सिंहिलद्रुहितुः औपशतिसगोत्रायाः यष्टिः उत्था-
पिता ॥

B

राज्ञो चाष्टनस य्सामोतिकपुत्रस राज्ञो रुद्रदामस जयदामपुत्रस वर्षे
द्विपंचाशे ५० २ फगुण बहुलस द्वितीयवारे २ ऋषभदेवस सीहिलपुत्रस
ओपशतिसगोत्रस भ्रात्रा मदनेन सीहिलपुत्रेन लष्टि उथपित ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

राज्ञः चण्टनस्य जामोतिकपुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदामपुत्रस्य
[च] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे ५२ फाल्गुनबहुलस्य द्वितीयवारे २ ऋषभदेवस्य
सिंहिलपुत्रस्य औपशतिसगोत्रस्य भ्रात्रा मदनेन सिंहिलपुत्रेण यष्टिः
उत्थापिता ॥

C

राज्ञो चाण्टनस्य य्सामोतिकपुत्रस्य राज्ञो रुद्रदामस्य जयदामपुत्रस्य
वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे ५० २ फगुणबहुलस्य द्वितिय वा २ यशदत्ताये सीहमितधीता[ये]
शैनिकसगोत्राये शामणेरिये मदनेन सीहिलपुत्रेण कुटुविनिये लष्टि उथा-
पिता ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

राज्ञः चण्टनस्य जामोतिकपुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदामपुत्रस्य
[च] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे ५२ फाल्गुनबहुलस्य द्वितीयवारे २ यशोदत्तायाः
सिंहमितदुहितुः शैनिकसगोत्रायाः श्रमणेर्याः मदनेन सिंहिलपुत्रेण कुटु-
म्बिन्याः यष्टिः उत्थापिता ॥

D

राज्ञो चाण्टनस्य य्सामोतिकपुत्रस्य राज्ञो रुद्रदामस्य जयदामपुत्रस्य
वर्षे ५० २ फगुन बहुलस्य द्वितियवारे २ ऋषभदेवस्य त्रेष्टदत्तपुत्रस्य
ओपशातिगोत्रस्य पित्रा [तिन?] त्रेष्टदत्तेन श्रामणरेण लष्टि उथापित ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

राज्ञः चण्टनस्य जामोतिकपुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदामपुत्रस्य
[च] वर्षे (द्विपञ्चाशे) ५२ फाल्गुन बहुलस्य द्वितीयवारे २ ऋषभदेवस्य
त्रेष्टदत्तपुत्रस्य औपशतिगोत्रस्य पित्रा त्रेष्टदत्तेन श्रामणरेण यष्टिः
उत्थापिता ॥

SUMMARY

A

This (memorial) stone¹ (was) set up by Madana, son of Simhila for his sister Jyēshṭhavīrā of the Aupaśati *gōtra*, daughter of Simhila, on the second day in the dark fortnight of (the month) Phālguna in the year 52 (in the reign) of king Rudradāman, son of king Jayadāman, (and in the reign of) (of king Chasṭana, son) of king Zāmotika.²

B

This (memorial) stone (was) set up by Madana, for his brother Ṛishabhadēva, of the Aupaśati *gōtra*, son of Simhila.

C

This (memorial) stone (was) set up by Madana, for his wife Yaśōdattā, a novice and the daughter of Simhamitra of the Śainika *gōtra*.

D

This (memorial) stone (was) set up by the novice Trēshṭadatta for his son Ṛishabhadēva of the Aupasati *gōtra*.

NOTES

1. *Yashṭhi* stands for wooden staff generally.
2. The genealogy and the date as in A are repeated in B, C and D also. It is apparent that Jayadāman was the son, and Rudradāman was the grandson of Chasṭana (see No. 135). This makes Rudradāman a joint ruler with Chasṭana as suggested by Sircar (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 183).

The name of this family Kārdamaka is obviously derived from Kardama, the name of a river in Bactria, though the original home of the family is unknown. Kardama is also known to be the name of a Prajāpati born of the shadow of Brahmā, the husband of Dēvahūti and the father of sage Kapila. It was also the name of king Pulaka, son of Kshēma-gupta (see Monier williams, s.v.).

128. PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION FROM MĀṬ

Date	.. c. A.D. 130
Script	.. Brāhmī
Language	.. Sanskrit (incorrect)
Donor/King /Huvishka
Dynasty	.. Kushāṇa
Location	.. Pedestal (damaged) of a statue from Tōkrī Ṭilā near Māṭ near Mathurā, now in the Govt. Museum, Mathura, U.P.
Reference	.. Lüders : <i>Mathurā Inscriptions</i> , Ed. K.L. Janert, No. 99, pp.138-40 and plate in p. 297

TEXT

मकरस्य सत्यधर्मस्थितस्य ¹ननयत्सर्वश्चण्डवीरातिसृष्टराज्यस्य
.. देवकुलं महाराजराजातिराज देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य पितामहस्य
तलागश्च दत्तः ततश्च देवकुलं भग्नपतितविशीर्णं दृश्य मह
महाराजराजातिराजदेवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य आयुवलवृद्धचर्थं [चंक्रम?]]
.
महादण्डनायक म . . . ष न मनपाकपतिन शौ
. पुकस्य . .
प्यति नैत्यकातिथिभ्यश्च ब्राह्मणेभ्यः कारिष्यति
. म .

SUMMARY²

. . . . who is steadfast in truth and piety and on whom the kingdom was bestowed by (the deities) Śiva and Kārtikēya the temple . . . the . . . of the grandfather³ of Mahārāja Rājātīrāja Dēvaputra Huvishka . . . and a tank was given

Later on, having seen that the temple was broken⁴, has fallen down and for the increase of the life and strength of Huvishka . . by the great general the . . . lord of . .

And for the brāhmaṇas, who were regular guests, will be made

NOTES

1. Read °स्थितस्यानुनया°

2. The site at Māṭ has yielded no less than five pedestals, three with damaged statues and the other two have survived without a statue. The text is given here linewise as the fragmentary nature of the inscription does not help us to connect the lines in any manner.

3. The identity of the grandfather is not clear, even though he seems to be referred to in another inscription (Lüders, *ibid*, No.98, pp.134-5) as the donor of the temple under reference in the present record.

4. Thus this inscription refers to the restoration of the original temple.

129. MEMORIAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF DHANADĒVA

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 53 : A.D. 130
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Dhanadēva/Rudradāman
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka Kshatrapa (Kārdamaka family)
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone at Andhau (now in the Museum at Bhuj), Khāvdā, Kutch District, Gujarat.
<i>Reference</i>	.. P. R. Srinivasan, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXVII, p. 142 and plate.

TEXT

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस य्सामोतिक्कपुत्रस स्वामिचाष्टनस पुत्रस राज्ञो
स्वामिजयदामस पुत्रस राज्ञो स्वामिरुद्रदामस वर्षे ५० ३ श्रावणस व ५
अपथकस शत्रुंसहपुत्रस श्रामणेरस . . गोत्रस पुत्रेण धनदेवेन यठि
अधिस्थापिता ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य जामोतिकपुत्रस्य स्वामिचष्टनस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः
स्वामिजयदामस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः स्वामिरुद्रदामस्य वर्षे ५३ श्रावणस्य व ५
(बहुलपञ्चम्यां) अपथकस्य शत्रुंसहपुत्रस्य श्रामणेरस्य . . गोत्रस्य
पुत्रेण धनदेवेन यष्टिः अधिष्ठापिता ॥

SUMMARY

(This is a memorial) stone set up by Dhanadēva, son of A[patha]ka¹, a novice and son of Śatruṃsaha on the fifth day of the dark fortnight in the month of Śrāvaṇa, in the year 53 (in the reign) of the king, lord Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman, son of king Jayadāman, son of king Chashṭana.

NOTE

1. It was apparently erected by Dhanadēva for his father Apathaka.
-

130. NASIK INSCRIPTION OF GAUTAMĪPUTRA SĀTAKARṆI

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 24: c. 130 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Cave No. 3, verandah, east wall, Nasik, Nasik District, Maharashtra, (in continuation of No. 119)
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 84, pp. 200-01.

TEXT

सिद्धम् । गोवधने अमचस सामकस देया राजाणति । रत्रो गोत-
मिपुतस सातकणिस महादेविय च जीवसुताय राजमातुय वचनेन गोवधने
[अम*]चो सामको अरोग वतव । ततो एव च वतवो । एथं अम्हेहि
पवते तिरण्हुम्हि अम्ह धमदाने लेणे पतिवसतानं पवजितानं भिखून गामे
कखडीसु पुव खेतं दत्त । त च खेत न कसते सो च गामो न वसति । एवं
सति य दानि एथ नगरसीमे राजकं खेतं अम्ह-सतकं ततो एतेस पवजितान
भिखूनं तेरण्हुकानं ददम खेतस निवतणसतं १०० । तस च खेतस परिहार
वितराम अपावेस अतोमस अलोणखादक अरठसविनयिक सवजातपारि-
हारिक च । एतेहि न परिहारेहि परिहरेठ । एत चस खेतपरीहारे च एथ
निवधापेथ । अवियेन आणत्त । पटिहार [र]खिय लोटाय छतो लेखो ।
सवछरे २० ४ वासान पखे ४ दिवसे पचमे ५ । सुजिविना कटा । निवधो
निवधो सवछरे २० ४ गिंहान पखे २ दिवसे १० ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ गोवर्द्धने अमात्याय श्यामकाय देया राजाज्ञप्तिः ।
 राज्ञः गौतमीपुत्रस्य सातकर्णेः महादेव्याः च जीवत्सुतायाः राजमातुः
 वचनेन गोवर्द्धने अमात्यः श्यामकः आरोग्यं वक्तव्यः । ततः एवं च [सः]
 वक्तव्यः—“अत्र अस्माभिः पर्वते त्रिरश्मौ अस्मद्धर्मदाने लयने प्रति-
 वसद्भ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः भिक्षुभ्यः ग्रामे कखड्यां पूर्वं क्षेत्रं दत्तम् । तत् च
 क्षेत्रं न कृष्यते; स च ग्रामः न उष्यते । एवं सति यत् इदानीम् अत्र
 नगरसीम्नि राजकीयं क्षेत्रम् अस्मत्सत्कं क्षेत्रं ततः एतेभ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः
 भिक्षुभ्यः त्रैरश्मिकेभ्यः दत्तः क्षेत्रस्य निवर्त्तनशतं १०० । तस्य च
 क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं वितरामः—

अप्रावेश्यम्, अनवमर्ष्यम्, अलवणखातकम्, अराष्ट्रसांविनयिकं,
 सर्वजातिपारिहारिकं च । एतैः एनत् परिहारैः परिहरत । एतं च अस्य
 क्षेत्रपरिहारं च अत्र निबन्धयत” । उक्तेन आज्ञप्तम् । प्रतीहाररक्ष्या
 लोटया क्षतः लेखः । संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ वर्षाणां पक्षे चतुर्थे ४ दिवसे
 पञ्चमे ५ । सुजीविना कृता । निबन्धः निबद्धः । संवत्सरे (चतुर्विंशे)
 २४ ग्रीष्मस्य पक्षे (द्वितीये) २ दिवसे (दशमे) १० ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

The king's order shall be conveyed to the minister Śyāmaka at Gōvarddhana. The minister's welfare is solicited as per the oral enquiries from the queen of king Gautamīputra Sātakarnī¹ and also the Queen-mother whose son i.e., the king is yet living. He is informed about the following:-

Land in the village Kakhaḍi was formerly given to the mendicant ascetics in the cave at the Triraśmi mountain endowed by us². Since the land is neither cultivated nor is anybody living there, our own land on the outskirts of the city (Gōvardhana) to the extent of 100 *nivarttanās* is given (in exchange under the same conditions)³

This document was drafted by the (female) Chamberlain Lōṭā. Engraved (on the copper-plate) by Sujivi on the fifth day in the fourth fortnight in the rainy season in the 24th regnal year. Registered on the 10th day in the second fortnight in the summer season in the 24th regnal year¹.

NOTES

1. This section of the inscription is understood by Sircar to imply that the king was probably fatally ill and the queen-mother had to issue the orders from her chambers drafted by her lady officer Lōṭā, and that his son, the heir-apparent was on the way to the throne.

2. This may be reference to the grant recorded in the inscription No.119.

3. The conditions stated here are the same as are mentioned in the record No. 119.

4. It may be noted that the details of date indicating the sequence of engraving and registering point to 1) the interval between the two events being about seven months and four days and 2) the commencement of the regnal year i.e. the anniversary of the day of accession falling between the tenth day of the second fortnight in the summer season and the fifth day in the fourth fortnight in the rainy season (i.e., roughly between the 11th day in the bright fortnight of Chaitra and the 4th day in the bright fortnight in the month of Bhādrapada of the Indian calendar corresponding approximately to a period from the middle of April to the middle of September).

131. DHARMACHAKRA SHAFT INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 5 : A.D. 135
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. [Vāsishthiputra Pulumāvi]
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Dharaṇikōṭa, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh, now in Amarāvati Museum.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Seshadri Sastri, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXIV, pp. 256-260 and plate.

TEXT

..... छर पन ५ ६ दिवस
प्रथमे १ क कोटुबिकस खदनागस अ रिकेन
अंगलोककेन विरखदस पुतेन अमचेन अतबेरेन धन्नकडस महाविहारे
पुवदारे पवजितान भिखुसधस पुवसेलियन निगायस परिगहे धमचकधयो
पडिठपितो सवलोकसत्त्वहितसुखाय ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

..... [संव] त्सरे पञ्चमे ५ ६
दिवसे प्रथमे १ क कौटुम्बिकस्य स्कन्दनागस्य
अंगलोककेन वीरस्कन्दस्य पुत्रेण अमात्येन अतबेरेण धान्यकटकस्य महा-
विहारे पूर्वद्वारे प्रव्रजितानां भिक्षुसंघस्य पूर्वशैलीयानां निकायस्य परिग्रहे
धर्मचक्रध्वजः प्रतिष्ठापितः सर्वलोकसत्त्वहितसुखाय ॥

SUMMARY

On the 1st day in the 6th fortnight in the . . . (season) in the 5th year¹ in the reign of . . . ²

This shaft³ for the Law of the Wheel is set up at the eastern gate of the Great Monastery of **Dhañakaḍa**⁴ in charge of the ascetics of the Pūrvaśailīya⁵ (school) by the minister Atabēra, son of Vīra-skanda of Aṅgalōka . . . of Skandanāga, a householder . . .

For the happiness and welfare of all the beings in the world.

NOTES

1. The photograph of the inscription shows the lower half of the numeral 5 which, the editor of the record has tried to restore as the letter *ṭṛi* to form the word *ṭṛimśa* meaning thirty.

2. The editor of the record suggests that the king's name, lost here, may be Pulumāvi and the regnal year 35. The proximity of Dharaṇikōṭa and Amarāvati where a similar inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi (date lost) has been noticed (Jas Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapēṭa*, p.100 and plate Lvi, No. 1) seems to support the suggestions. But the regnal year in the present record is only 5 and not 35.

3. The shaft bears at its rectangular base a carving of a *stūpa* surmounted by umbrellas. The left hand face contains a carving of a serpent (*nāga*) figure and the right-hand face that of an arch with three-barred railing. The shaft must have had a sculptural representation of the wheel standing for piety (*Dharma-chakra*) on the top portion, now lost.

4. This is Dharaṇikōṭa, the findspot of the inscription.

5. This is a sect forming a subdivision of the *mahāsāṅghikas*, probably designated so on account of their residence in the eastern hill as against the other in the western hill (*Aparaśailīya* or *Apamahāvīnaśailīya*).

132. KARLE INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀRATHI SŌMADĒVA

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 7: A.D. 137
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Sōmadēva/Puḷumāvi
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Cave, upper frieze to the left of the central door, Karle, Pune District, Maharashtra.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel.Ins.</i> , I, 1965, No. 85, p. 202.

TEXT

रञ्जो वासिठीपुतस सामि सिरि[पुलुमाविस] सवछरे सतमे ७ गिम्ह
पखे पचमे ५ दिवसे पथमे १ एताय पुवाय ओखलकियानं महारथिस
कोसिकिपुतस मितदेवस पुतेन [म*]हारथिना वासिठीपुतेन सोमदेवेन
गामो दतो वलूरकसंघस वलूरकलेनस सकरुकरो सदेयमेयो ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य स्वामिश्रीपुलुमावेः संवत्सरे सप्तमे ७
ग्रीष्मपक्षे पञ्चमे ५ दिवसे प्रथमे १ एतस्यां पूर्वायां औत्खलकीयानां
महारथिनः कौशिकीपुत्रस्य मित्तदेवस्य पुत्रेण महारथिना वासिष्ठीपुत्रेण
सोमदेवेन ग्रामः दत्तः वलूरकसङ्घाय वलूरकलयनस्य सकरोत्करः सदे-
यमेयः ॥

SUMMARY

On the first day in the fifth fortnight in the summer season in the seventh regnal year of *Svāmi Śrī Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi*¹

Vāsishṭhīputra² Sōmadēva, a *mahārathi*³, son of Kauśikīputra² Mitradēva, a *mahārathi*³, of the Autkhalakīya family gave a village (name not given)⁴ along with the revenues (due to the state) for the benefit of the community of the mendicants of Valūraka living in the local cave.

NOTES

1. The Dravidian | in this name is clear in the following inscriptions though this name is derived from Pulōma mentioned in the Purāṇic genealogy. It is also spelt as Puḷumāyi.

2. These are metronymics.

3. This is a title bestowed on chiefs of considerable status comparable to *mahāsēnāpati* or *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* of later times.

4. The name of the village is omitted. Valūraka itself was possibly given or it is possible that *gāma* (Sanskrit *grāma*) was itself the name of the village, even as the modern survival of the name *Grāmam* for a village in North Arcot District in Tamil Nadu points to.

133. BUDDHA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF GUHASĒNA

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 64 (or 67) : A.D. 142 or 145
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Guhasēna/Vāsudēva
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Mathura, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 56 A, pp. 161 ff.

TEXT

. तस्य वासुदेवस्य सं ६० [४ or ७] वर्षमास
द्वितीये २ दिवसि नं सर्वेष यत्नोपनान पूजार्थं
न परिग्रहाय अचरियन महासधिकानं निस्य प्रतिमा सगिहा
मातापित्रेण अभसितनं . . . कुटुबिकानं गुहसेनेन . . .

TEXT SANSKRITISED

. . . . देवपुत्रस्य वासुदेवस्य सं ६४ (or ६७) वर्षमासे
द्वितीये २ दिवसे सत्त्वानां सर्वेषां यत्नोत्पन्नानां पूजार्थं सर्व-
बुद्धानां परिग्रहाय आचार्याणां महासांधिकानां शाक्यमुनेः प्रतिमा सगृहा
मातापितृभ्यां (सह) अभसितानां कुटुम्बिकानां गुहसेनेन
[प्रतिष्ठापिता] ॥

SUMMARY

On the . . . day in the second month of the rainy (season) in
the 64 (or 67)th year (in the reign) of . . . Dēvaputra Vāsudēva

The image of the Śākya sage (Buddha) with the shrine was set up by Guhasēna along with his parents and the unenlightened householders. It was set up for the merit of all beings wherever they are born, and the enlightened (monks) for the upkeep by (i.e., in charge of) the preceptors of the Mahāsāṃghika (school).

134. NASIK INSCRIPTION OF VĀSISHṬHĪPUTRA PUḶUMĀVI

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 19: c. 149 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Balaśīi/Puḷumāvi
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Cave No. 3, verandah, back wall, above the entrance, Nasik, Nasik District, Maharashtra.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Senart, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , VIII, pp. 60 ff, No. 2 and plate

TEXT

सिद्धम् ॥ रञ्जो वासिष्ठीपुतस सिरिपुलुमाविस सवछरे एकुनवीसे
१० ६ गिम्हाण पखे वितिये २ दिवसे तेरसे १० ३ ।

राजरञ्जो गोतमीपुतस हिमवतमेरुमंदरपवतसमसारस असिक-
असकमुलकसुरठकुरापरंत अनुपविदभआकरावंतिराजस विज्ञछवतपरि-
चातसह्यकण्हगिरिमचसिरिटनमलयमहिदसेटगिरिचकोरपवतपतिस सव-
राजलोकमंडलपतिगहीतसासनस दिवसकरकरविबोधितकमलविमलसदि-
सवदनस तिसमुदतोयपीतवाहनस पटिपुण्णचदमडलससिरीकपियदसनस
वरवारणविकमचारुविकमस भुजगपतिभोगपीनवाटविपुलदीघसुदरभुजस
अभयोदकदानकिलिननिभयकरस अविपनमातुसुसूसाकस सुविभततिवग-
देसकालस पोरजननिविसेससमसुखदुखस खतियदपमानमदनस सकयवन-
पल्हवनिसूदनस धमोपजितकरविनियोगकरस कितापराधे पि सतुजने

अपाणहिसारुचिस दिजावरकुटुवविवधनस खखरातवसनिरवसेसरस
 सातवाहनकुलयसपतिथापनकरस सवमंडलाभिवादितचरणस विनिवतित-
 चातुवणसंकरस अनेकसमरावजितसतुसघस अपराजितविजयपताकसतु-
 जनदुपधसनीयपुरवरस कुलणुरिसपरपरागतविपुलराजसदस आगमान
 निलयस सपुरिसान असयस सिरिये अधिठानस उपचारान पभवस एक-
 कुसस एकधनुधरस एकसूरस एकवम्हणस रामकेसवाजुनभीमसेनतुलपर-
 कमस छणघन्सवसमाजकारकस नाभागनहुसजनमेजयसकरययातिरामा-
 वरीससमतेजस अपरिमितमखयमचितमभुत पवनगरुलसिधयखरखसविजा-
 धरभूतगध्वचारणचददिवाकरनखतगह्विचिणसमरसिरसि जितरिपुसघस
 नागवरखधा गगनतलमभिविगाढस कुलविपुलसिरिकरस सिरि
 सातकणिस

मातुय महादेवीय गोतमिय बलसिरीय सचवचनदानखमाहिसा-
 निरताय तपदमनियमोपवासतपराय राजरिसिवधुसदमखिलमनुविधीय-
 मानाय कारित देयधम [केलासपवत*] सिखरसदिसे तिरण्हुपवतसिखर
 विमानवरनिविसेस महिठीक लेण ।

एत च लेण महादेवी महाराजमाता महाराजपितामही ददाति
 निकायस भदायनीयानं भिखुसघस ।

एतस च लेणस चितणनिमित महादेवीय अयकाय सेवकामो
 पियकामो च णता [सिरि पुलुमावि] [दखिणा*]पथेसरो पितुपतियो
 (पितिये) धमसेतुस ददाति गाम तिरण्हुपवतस अपरदक्षिणपसे पिसाजि-
 पदकं सवजातभोगनिरठि ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीपुलुमावंः संवत्सरे एकोनविंशे
 १६ ग्रीष्मस्य पक्षे द्वितीये २ दिवसे त्रयोदशे १३ ।

राजराजस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य हिमवन्मेरुमन्दरपर्वतसमसारस्य ऋषि-

काश्मकमूलकसुराष्ट्रकुपुरापरात्तानूपविदर्भाकिरावन्तिराजस्य विन्ध्यक्ष्वत्
 पारियात्रसह्यकृष्णगिरिमत्स्य श्रीस्तनमलयमहेन्द्र श्रेष्ठगिरिचकोरपर्वतपतेः
 सर्वराजलोकमण्डलप्रतिगृहीतशासनस्य दिवसकरकरविबोधितकमलविम-
 लसदृशवदनस्य त्रिसमुद्रतोयपीतवाहनस्य परिपूर्णचन्द्रमण्डलसश्रीकप्रिय-
 दर्शनस्य वरवारणविक्रमचारुविक्रमस्य भुजगपतिभोगपीनवृत्तविपुलदीर्घ-
 सुन्दरभुजस्य अभयोदकदानक्लिन्ननिर्भयकरस्य अविपन्नमातृशुश्रूषकस्य
 सुविभक्तत्रिवर्गदेशकालस्य पौरजननिर्विशेषसमसुखदुःखस्य क्षत्रियदर्प-
 मानमर्दनस्य शक्यवनपल्लवनिषूदनस्य धर्मोपचितकरविनियोगकरस्य
 कृतापराधेऽपि शत्रुजने अप्राणहिंसारुचेः द्विजावरकुटुम्बविवर्द्धनस्य क्षह-
 रातवंशनिरवशेषकरस्य सातवाहनकुलयशःप्रतिष्ठापनकरस्य सर्वमण्डला-
 भिवादितचरणस्य विनिर्वर्तितचातुर्वर्ण्यसङ्करस्य अनेकसमरावजितशत्रु-
 सङ्घस्य अपराजितविजयपताकशत्रुजनदुष्प्रधर्षणीयपुरवरस्य कुलपुरुष-
 परम्परागतविपुलराजसदसः आगमानां निलयस्य सत्पुरुषाणामाश्रयस्य
 श्रियः अधिष्ठानस्य उपचाराणां प्रभवस्य एकाङ्कुशस्य एकधनुर्धरस्य
 एकशूरस्य एकब्राह्मणस्य रामकेशवार्जुनभीमसेनतूत्यपराक्रमस्य क्षण-
 धनोत्सवसमाजकारकस्य नाभागनहुषजनमेजयसगरययातिरामाम्बरीषस-
 मतेजसः अपरिमितम् अक्षयम् अचिन्त्यम् अद्भुतं पवनगरुडसिद्धयक्ष-
 राक्षसविद्याधरभूतगन्धर्वचारणचन्द्रदिवाकरनक्षत्रग्रहविचीर्णसमरशिरसि
 जितरिपुसङ्घस्य नागवरस्कन्धात् गगनतलमभिविगाढस्य कुलविपुलश्री-
 करस्य श्री सातकर्णेः

मात्रा महादेव्या गौतम्या बलश्रिया सत्यवचनदानक्षमाहिंसानिरतया
 तपोदमनियमोपवासतत्परया राजर्षिवधूशब्दमखिलमनुविदधत्या कारितः
 देयधर्मः कैलासपर्वतशिखरसदृशे त्रिरश्मिपर्वतशिखरे विमानवरनिर्विशेषं
 महर्द्धिकं लयनम् ।

एतत् च लयनं महादेवी महाराजमाता महाराजपितामही ददाति
 निकायाय भद्रायणीयानां भिक्षुसङ्घाय ।

एतस्य च लयनस्य चित्रणनिमित्तं महादेव्याः आर्यकायाः सेवा-
कामः प्रियकामश्च नप्ता (श्रीपुलुमाविः) दक्षिणापथेश्वरः पितृप्रीतये
धर्मसेतवे ददाति ग्रामं त्रिरश्मिपर्वतस्य अपरदक्षिणपार्श्वे पिशाचीपद्रकं
सर्वजातभोगनिरस्तम् ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the 13th day in the second fortnight in the summer season
in the 19th regnal year of king Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Puṣumāvi

Śrī [Gautamīputra] Sātakarṇi who was strong like the moun-
tains Himavat, Mēru and Mandara¹, lord of Ṛishika², Aśmaka,
Mūlaka, Surāshṭra, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidarbha, Ākara
and Avanti; in whose territory lie the mountains Vindhya³. Ṛiksha-
vat, Pāriyātra, Sahya, Kṛishṇagiri, Matsya, Śrīsthāna, Mālava,
Mahēndra, Śrēshṭhagiri and Chakōra; obeyed by the circle of all
kings; whose charges had drunk the waters of the three oceans;⁴ who
had pleasant looks, radiant like the orb of the full moon; whose
gait was beautiful like that of a choice elephant; whose arms were
as muscular and rounded as the folds of the lord of serpents; whose
assuring hand was wet with water poured to impart fearlessness;
who did an unchecked service to his mother; who properly devised
time and place for the pursuit of the triple (piety, wealth and gratifi-
cation of desire) objects (of humanity); sympathetic towards the
weal and woe of the citizens; crushed the pride and conceit of the
Kshatriyas⁵; destroyer of the Śāka, the Yavanas and the Pahlavas;
who utilised properly the taxes collected righteously; interested in
not hurting even offending enemies; who increases (the prosperity
of) the homesteads of the brāhmaṇas and also of the low-placed
people; extirpator of the Kshaharāta family; restorer of the glory
of the Sātavāhana family; whose feet were saluted by (people of)
all regions; who stopped the commingling of the four castes; who
defeated confederations of enemies in many battles; whose victorious
banner was never vanquished; whose capital was unassailable to
enemies; whose royal assembly consisted of kings belonging to
the line of noble families; the abode of traditional lore; the refuge

of the virtuous; the abode of wealth; the unique controller; the unique archer, the unique hero, the unique brāhmaṇa, equal in prowess to (the Purāṇic heroes like) Rāma, Kēśava, Arjuna and Bhīmasēna; liberal organiser of festive gatherings; equal in lustre to (the Purāṇic heroes like) Nābhāga, Nahusha, Janamējaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma and Ambarisha; who vanquished enemies in a way as limitless as inexhaustible, unthinkable and marvellous, in battles witnessed by the Wind, the Garuḍa (mount of lord Viṣṇu) (semi-divine beings like) the Siddhas; the Yakshas, the Vidyādharas; etc. the planets and the stars; who plunged into the sky from the shoulder of his choice elephant and who raised his family to high fortunes, —his mother excavated a magnificent cave on the Trirāśmi mountain equalling Kailāsa.

She—the great queen Gautamī Balaśrī, the mother of a mahārāja and the grandmother of a mahārāja, interested in truth, charity, patience, non-violence, penance, control, restraint and abstinence, having the bearing of the wife of a royal sage, gives⁶ this cave to the group of ascetics belonging to the order of Bhadrāyaṇiya.⁶

[Śrī PuḢumāvi], her grandson interested in pleasing the grandmother gives for the embellishment of this cave the village Pisāji-padaka (Piśāchipadraka), southwest of the mountain along with all revenues as a bridge of piety for the pleasure of his father.

NOTES

1. The Himavat is the Himālayas. Mēru (also called “Mahāmēru” and “Sumēru”) is a legendary mountain with high golden peaks. It is reported to be the abode of the celestials and of the great Seven Saints (*Saptarishis*). The Sun is said to go round this great mountain, which was accessible only to the virtuous. Mandara is the name of another legendary mountain which is the residence of various deities. It served the celestials and the demons for a stick to churn the ocean for the recovery of the life-giving nector (*amṛita*) and thirteen other precious things lost during the deluge.

2. Rishika (Asika) is the name of an area (in the former Nizam's dominions) between the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvāri rivers; Aśmaka is on the Gōdāvāri to the north in the region of Nanded and Nizamabad in Mahārāshṭra; Mūlaka is on the Gōdāvāri around modern Paithān; Vidarbha is eastern Mahārashṭra. For other countries see No. 135.

3. Vindhya is the Eastern part of the hill ranges in central India; Riskshavat is in the same range north of the river Narmadā; Pāriyātra is the same as Āravalli and the Western Vindhya ranges; Sahya- the Western Ghats; Krishṇagiri-Kanheri in Maharashtra; Śrēṣṭhagiri (Seṭagiri)-hill near Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the Guntur District in Andhra Pradesh; Malaya- the Western Ghats to the south of the Nilgiris; and Mahendra- the Eastern Ghats.

4. The three oceans are the Bay of Bengal, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea.

5. The entire section of text from here presents the claim of this king's adherence to the Vedic religion as a brāhmaṇa and his subjection of (all rulers of foreign origin who were absorbed into the caste system as) *Kshartiyas* and also to the forbidding of intermingling of the four castes. However see No. 135 for a matrimonial alliance of the Sātavāhanas with the Kārdamaka family of Śaka-Kshatrapas forced on the former probably towards the end of the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

6. Note the use of the present tense. The Bhadrāyaṇīyas, a branch of the Sthaviravādins (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIV, p.252) were also called probably as Bhadrāyānikas. See No. 137 below.

135. ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADĀMAN

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka year 72 : A.D. 150
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Rudradāman
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka-Mahākshatrpa (Kārdamaka family)
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock, Western side, top, at Junāgaḍh, Kāthiawāḍ, Gujarat
<i>Reference</i>	.. Kielhorn, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , VIII, pp.42 ff and plate

TEXT

सिद्धम् । इदं तडाकं सुदर्शनं गिरिनगरादपि दूरम् मृत्तिको-
पलविस्तारायामोच्छ्रयनिःसन्धिवद्धदृढसर्वपालीकत्वात् पर्वतपादप्रतिस्पर्द्धि-
सुश्लिष्टवन्धं [व] जातेनाकृत्रिमेण सेतुवन्धेनोपपन्नं
सुप्रतिविहितप्रनालीपरीवाहमीढविधानं च त्रिस्कन्ध नादिभि-
रनुग्रहैर्महत्युपचये वर्तते ।

तदिदं राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य सुगृहीतनाम्नः स्वामिचष्टनस्य पौत्रस्य
[राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य सुगृहीतनाम्नः स्वामिजयदाम्नः] पुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्र-
पस्य गुरुभिरभ्यस्तनाम्नो रुद्रदाम्नो वर्षे द्विसप्ततितमे ७० २ मार्ग-
शीर्षवहुलप्रतिपदि सृष्टवृष्टिना पर्जन्येन एकार्णवभूतायामिव
पृथिव्यां कृतायां गिरेरूर्जयतः सुवर्णसिकतापलाशिनीप्रभृतीनां नदीनामति-
मात्रोद्वृत्तैर्वैः सेतुम् यमाणानुरूपप्रतीकारमपि गिरिशिख-
रतरुतटाट्टालकोपतल्पद्वारशरणोच्छ्रयविध्वंसिना युगनिधनसदृशपरमघो-
रवेगेन वायुना प्रमथितसलिलविक्षिप्तजज्जरीकृतावदीर्ण

क्षिप्ताश्मवृक्षगुल्मलताप्रतानम् आ नदीतलादित्युद्धाटितमासीत् । चत्वारि
हस्तशतानि विंशत्युत्तराण्यायतेन एतावन्त्येव विस्तीर्णेन पञ्चसप्तति-
हस्तानवगाढेन भेदेन निस्सृतसर्वतोयं मरुधन्वकल्पमतिभृशं दुर्दृशं न-
मासीत् ।] . . . [स्या]र्थे मौर्यस्य राज्ञः चन्द्रगुप्तस्य राष्ट्रियेण वैश्येन
पुष्यगुप्तेन कारितं अशोकस्य मौर्यस्य कृते यवनराजेन तुषास्फेनाधिष्ठाय
प्रणालीभिरलंकृतम् । तत्कारितया च राजानुरूपकृतविधानया तस्मिन्
भेदे दृष्टया प्रनाड्या विस्तृतसेतु णा आ गर्भत्प्रभृत्य-
विहृतसमुदितराजलक्ष्मीधारणागुणतस्सर्ववर्णैरभिगम्य रक्षणार्थं पतित्वे
वृतेन आ प्राणोच्छ्वासात्पुरुषवधनिवृत्तिकृतसत्यप्रतिज्ञेन अन्यत्र संग्रामे-
ष्वभिमुखागतसदृशशत्रुप्रहरणवितरणत्वाविगुणरिपु
धृतकारुण्येन स्वयमभिगतजनपदप्रणिपतितायुष्मरणदेन दस्युव्यालमृगोर-
गादिभिरनुपसृष्टपूर्वनगरनिगमजनपदानां स्ववीर्याज्जितानामनुरक्तसर्व-
प्रकृतीनां पूर्वापराकरावन्त्यनूपनीवृदान्तसुराष्ट्रश्वभ्रमरुकच्छ सिन्धुसीवी-
रकुपुरापरान्तनिषादादीनां समग्राणां तत्प्रभावाद्यथावत्प्राप्तधर्मार्थिकाम-
विषयाणां विषयाणां पतिना सर्वक्षत्वाविष्कृतवीरशब्दजातोत्सेकाविधेयानां
यौधेयानां प्रसह्योत्सादकेन दक्षिणापथपतेस्सातकर्णेद्विरपि निर्व्याजिमव-
जित्यावजित्य संबंधाविदूरतया अनुत्सादनात्प्राप्तयशसा वाद
प्राप्तविजयेन भ्रष्टराजप्रतिष्ठापकेन यथार्थहस्तोच्छ्रयाज्जितोर्ज्जितधमनि-
रागेण शब्दार्थगान्धर्वन्यायाद्यानां विद्यानां महतीनां पारणधारणविज्ञान-
प्रयोगावाप्तविपुलकीर्तिना तुरगगजरथचर्यासिचर्मनियुद्धाद्या
तिपरवललाघवसौष्ठवक्रियेण अहरहृनिमानानवमानशीलेन स्थूललक्षणेन
यथावत्प्राप्तैर्बलिशुल्कभागैः कनकरजतवज्रवैडूर्यरत्नोपचयविष्यन्दमान-
कोशेन स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्तकान्तशब्दसमयोदारालंकृतगद्यपद्यकाव्यविधान-
प्रवीणेन प्रमाणमानोन्मानस्वरगतिवर्णसारसत्त्वादिभिः परमलक्षणव्यंजनै-
रूपेतकान्तमूर्तिना स्वयमधिगतमहाक्षत्रपनाम्ना नरेन्द्रकन्यास्वयंवराने-
कमाल्यप्राप्तदाम्ना महाक्षत्रपेण रुद्रदाम्ना वर्षसहस्राय गोब्राह्मण

. . . . तर्थ धर्मकीर्त्तिवृद्धयर्थं च अपीडयित्वा करविष्टिप्रणयक्रियाभिः पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्मात्कोशान्महता धनौघेन अनतिमहता च कालेन त्रिगुणदृढतरविस्तारायामं सेतुं विधाय सर्वतटे सुदर्शनतरं कारितमिति ।

अस्मिन्नर्थे च महाक्षत्रपस्य मतिसचिवकर्मसचिवैरमात्यगुणसमुद्युक्तैरप्यतिमहत्त्वाद्भेदस्यानुत्साहविमुखमतिभिः प्रत्याख्यातारंभं पुनः सेतुवन्धनैराश्याद्वाहाभतासु प्रजासु इहाधिष्ठाने पौरजानपदजनानुग्रहार्थं पार्थिवेन कृत्स्नानामानर्त्तसुराष्ट्राणां पालनार्थं नियुक्तेन पल्लवेन कुलैपपुत्रेणामात्येन सुविशाखेन यथावदर्थधर्मव्यवहारदर्शनैरनुरागमभिवर्द्धयता शक्तेन दान्तेनाचपलेनाविस्मितेनार्येणाहार्येण स्वधितिष्ठता धर्मकीर्त्ति-यशांसि भर्तृरभिवर्द्धयतानुष्ठितमिति ॥

SUMMARY

(NOTE: As this inscription is a major example of excellent prose among Sanskrit epigraphs as well as of a major engineering endeavour, its contents are given in detail below : the paragraphs and their contents have however been rearranged for easy comprehension and dates are added where relevant to give ready meaning to the contents.)

Success!

This lake, named **Sudarśana** (*su*: pleasant; *darśana* : sight) a little away . . from Girinagara . . . with bunds so well made with clay and stone as to resemble (equal) a spur of a mountain . . provided with a natural dam and with channels and with drains and with provisions to prevent pollution by foul substances . . . in three sections . . . and with graceful features is in excellent condition.

This lake was first created by Vaiśya¹ Pushyagupta, provincial Governor appointed by the Mauryan Monarch **Chandragupta**² (324 to 300 B.C.). It was later extended and provided with adequate outlets by the local ruler, the (Yavana) Persian king Tushāspa, in a manner worthy of a King, at the behest of (Emperor) **Aśoka Maurya**² (273 to 236 B.C.)

On the first day of the dark fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīrsha (October-November) in the year 72 (A.D. 150) in the reign of King Mahākshatrapa **Rudradāman** this lake was riven open to the bottom by the outpour from clouds and by the discharge from the flood-swollen rivers Suvarnasikatā and Palāśinī³ etc., the whole area looked like an ocean; the waters in the reservoir (created by the dam) were churned by a fierce storm as powerful as the one that preludes the Deluge of the end of Ages;⁴ and this storm also shattered and scattered all the points of elevation (round the lake). This led to a breach four hundred and twenty cubits (600 feet) long on all sides and seventyfive cubits (over 112 feet) deep; all the water drained out and the lake appeared ugly (*durdarśana* : *dur*=adverse, *darśana*=sight) like a sandy desert.

King **Rudradāman**⁵ whose name was recounted by respectable elders was the son of King Kshatrapa Jayadāman and grandson of King Mahākshatrapa **Chashtana** whose name was well-received (at the mere mention). He (Rudradāman) enjoyed royal fortune even when he was in the womb. All the castes looked to him for protection. He vowed for life not to take human life, save in battle. He meted out mercy to his antagonists and to those who seek sanctuary with him. He was the Lord of the eastern and the western Ākara⁶, Avanti, Anūpa, Ānarta, Surāshṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta, Nishāda and other territories (*vishayas*) gained by his valour, where the land is free from the troubles by robbers, snakes, wild beasts, diseases, etc., and where people are attached to him; he destroyed the **Yaudhēyas**⁷ who were arrogant (*avidhēya*=bereft of humility) as they bore the attribute of "heroes" among Kshatriyas. He twice defeated Sātakarṇi,⁸ the Lord of Dakshināpatha (Trans-Vindhyan - i.e. peninsular India); he increased his fame (influence ?) by matrimonial alliance (with him). He reinstated kings who lost the kingdom. He was the arbiter of matters (*vishayas*) like wealth and accomplishment by his subjects. His hand was raised in strong dedication to law and justice. He was an adept in the art of war and his Treasury was filled to overflowing by precious materials rightfully acquired. He was always liberal in giving presents. His knowledge, both theoretical and practical, of grammar, music, logic and other

sciences was great; as was his expertise in the art of composition. Adorned with garlands from royal maidens seeking betrothal to him, he was the most excellent personality. - - and he has acquired the attribute "Mahākshatrapa" by his own merit.

This great king sought to make the (ruined) Sudarśana lake thrice as strong and far more beautiful than before, out of the resources of his Treasury (without burden to his subjects by persuasion or by coercion) so that cows and brāhmaṇas may benefit for a thousand years and so that he himself may gain the merit (of this right deed) and fame.

The commencement of the work (of repair and reconstruction) was not a task which found favour with his Ministers and Executives due to the enormity of the breach and immensity of the work involved. Hearing the loud laments of his subjects, King Rudradāman had the work carried out, for the benefit of the people, by his Minister (set to rule over Ānarta and Surāshṭra) Suviśākha, son of Pahlava⁹ Kulaipa. This Minister, able, patient, not fickle-minded, not arrogant, straight-forward (*ārya*) and incorruptible (*ahārya*) increases the people's loyalty (to the King) by his exemplary conduct in financial, spiritual and temporal affairs and by his good government brings unto his master merit, fame and glory.

NOTES

1. Kielhorn points out that the Vaiśyas, according to Varāhamihira, are a people of the western division (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p.192).

2. See No. 1, note 3, above for details on the Mauryas.

3. Suvarṇasikatā is the modern Sonarēkhā. The name of the other does not seem to survive. The mountain Ūrjayat is now called Girnar, and Girinagara is perhaps the ancient name of Junāgaḍh.

4. The Ages represent four long mundane periods called Kṛita or Satya, Trētā, Dvāpara and Kali, the first three of which have already elapsed. The Kali, the present age began at midnight between the 17th and 18th of February 3102 B.C. The four ages endure for successfully lesser periods reflecting the physical and moral degradation of men in each age. Together they last for 4,320,000 years.

5. See No. 127 note 2 above for details.

6. Ākara is the region around Vidiśa (Bhilsa, M.P.), and Avanti is the region around Ujjain both constituting ancient Mālva; Anūpa around Māhishmati (Māndhātā in Nimar Dt., M.P.); Ānarta around Dvāraka, in Gujarat; Surāshtra around Gīrnār itself; Śvabhra on the Sabarmātī in Gujarat; Maru is the Rājasthan desert area (like Mārwar); Kachchha is Kutch in Gujarat; Sindhu is the former state of Sindh now in Pakistan; Sauvīra is east of Sindh; Kukura is in the north of Ānarta; Aparānta is Northern Konkan in Maharashtra and Nishāda is the region around western Vindhya and Āravalli ranges.

7. For Yaudheyas see No. 55 above.

8. This Sātakarṇi was evidently Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. See No. 130 above. See No. 144 from Kanhēri which mentions the *devī* of Vāsishthīputra Śrī-Sātakarṇi, who was the daughter of a Kārdamaka Mahākshatrpa with name beginning with *Ru* (apparently Rudradāman) (Sircar, p.178, note 9).

9. The Pahlavas (from old Persian Parthava) are considered to be Parthians. This name is generally used to indicate the Persians.

**136. MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF
GENERAL VALĀNA**

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 74 : A.D. 152
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i> /Vāsudēva
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone in Jamālpūr mound (now missing), Mathurā, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Lüders, <i>Mathurā Inscriptions</i> , No. 30, p.65 and plate

TEXT

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य वासुदेवस्य संवत्सरे ७० ४
वर्षमासे प्रथमे दिवसे त्रिंशे ३० अस्यां पूर्व्यां तलकिये महादण्डनायकस्य
वलानस्य क्षण्डमिहि महादण्ड

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य वासुदेवस्य संवत्सरे ७४
वर्षमासे प्रथमे दिवसे त्रिंशे ३० अस्यां पूर्वायां तलकिये महादण्डनायकस्य
वलानस्य षण्डमिहि महादण्ड

SUMMARY

On the 30th day in the first month of the rainy season in the
74th year (in the reign) of *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Dēvaputra Vāsu-*
dēva the great general (*Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*) Valāna at Tala-
kiya Shaṇḍamihira . . . the great general¹

NOTE

1. The purpose of the record is not known on account of the damage on the
stone. Lüders connects the name Valāna with Ulāna in another inscription
(ibid, No. 119, p.158).

137. NASIK INSCRIPTION OF VĀSISHTHĪPUTRA PUḢUMĀVI

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 22=c. 152 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. PuḢumāvi
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Engraved in continuation of No. 134, Nasik, Nasik District, Maharashtra.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel.Ins.</i> , I No. 87, p. 207.

TEXT

सिद्धम् ॥ नवनरस्वामी वासिष्ठीपुतो सिरिपुलुमवि आनपयति
गोवधने आमच सिवखदिल

य अम्हेहि सव १० ६ गि प २ दिव १० ३ धनकटसमनेहि ये एथ
पवते तिर[ण्हुम्हि*] न धमसेतुस लेणस पटिसंथरणे दत अखय[नीवि*]
हेतु एथ गोवधनाहारे दखिणमगे गामो सुदिसणा भिखुहि देविलेणवासीहि
निकायेन भदायनियेहि पतिगय दतो । एतस दानगामस सुदिसनस परिवटके
एथ गोवधनाहारे पुवमगे गाम सामलिपद ददाम । एत त महअइरकेन ओदेन
धमसेतुस लेणस पटिसंथरणे अखयनिविहेतु गाम सामलिपद भिखुहि
देविलेण[वासीहि] [निकायेन भदायनियेहि पतिगय्ह ओयपपेहि ।

एतस च गामस सामलिपदस भिखुहलपरिहार वितराम अपावेस
अनोमस अलोणखादक अरठसविनविक सवजातपारिहारिक च । एतेहि न

परिहारेहि परिहरेहि । एत च गाम समलिपदपरिहारे च एथ निवधापेहि
सुदिसन गामस च । सुदिसनास विनिवधकारेहि अणता ।

महासेनापतिना मेधुनेन ना छतो । वटिका . . . केहि
. तो ।

दता पटिका सव २२ गि पखे . . . दिव ७ । . . . [सा] तकणिना
कटा ।

गोवधनवाथवान फासुकाये विण्हुपालेन स्वामिवणन णत ।

नम भगत सपति पतपस जिनवरस बृधस ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ नवनगरस्वामी वासिष्ठीपुत्रः श्री पुलुमाविः आज्ञापयति
गोवर्द्धने अमात्यं शिवस्कन्दिलं ।

यत् अस्माभिः संवत्सरे एकोनविंशे] १६ ग्रीष्मपक्षे [द्वितीये] २
दिव[से त्रयोदशे] १३ धान्यकटश्रमणेभ्यः यः अत्र पर्वते त्रिरश्मौधर्मसेतोः
लयनस्य प्रतिसंस्तरणाय दत्तः अक्षयनीविहेतोः अत्र गोवर्द्धनाहारे
दक्षिणमार्गे [स्थितः] ग्रामः सुदर्शनः भिक्षुभ्यः देवीलयनवासिभ्यः निकायेन
भद्रायणीयेभ्यः प्रतिगृह्य दत्तः । एतस्य दानग्रामस्य सुदर्शनस्य परिवर्त्तके
अत्र गोवर्द्धनाहारे पूर्वमार्गे ग्रामं शाल्मलीपद्रं दद्वः । एतं तु महार्यकेण ओदेन
धर्मसेतोः लयनस्य प्रतिसंस्तरणाय अक्षयनीविहेतुं ग्रामं शाल्मलीपद्रं
भिक्षुभ्यः देवीलयनवासिभ्यः निकायेन भद्रायणीयेभ्यः [पूर्वदत्तं ग्रामं]
प्रतिगृह्य अवोपप्रापय ।

एतस्य च ग्रामस्य शाल्मलीपद्रस्य भिक्षुहलपरिहारं वितरामः—
अप्रावेश्यम्, अनवमर्श्यम्, अलवणखातकम्, अराष्ट्रसांविनयिकं, सर्वजात-
पारिहारिकं च । एतैः एनत् [क्षेत्रं] परिहारैः परिहर । एतं च ग्रामशाल्म-

लीपद्रपरिहारम् अत्र निवन्ध्य सुदर्शनग्रामस्य च । सुदर्शनस्य विनिवन्धकारैः
आज्ञप्तम् ।

महासेनापतिना मेधुनेन न क्षतः । पट्टिकापालकैः उपल-
क्षितः

दत्ता पट्टिका संवत्सरे द्वाविंशे २२ ग्रीष्मपक्षे . . . दिवसे सप्तमे
७ । . . . सातकर्णिना कृता । गोवर्द्धनवास्तव्यानां स्पर्हाकाय विष्णुपालेन
स्वामिवर्णनं नीतम् ।

नमः अभ्युद्गतसम्पत्तिप्रतापाय जिनवराय बुद्धाय ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

Vāsishthīputra Puṣumāvi, the lord of Navanagara¹ commands the minister Śivaskandila at Gōvarddhana thus:

“We took back the village Sudarśana in the southern division of the Gōvardhana district from the mendicants of the Bhadrāyaṇīya school resident at the Queen’s cave² and gave it to the ascetics from Dhānyakaṭa residing at the cave³ on the Triraśmi hill as a perpetual endowment for its upkeep on the 13th day in the second fortnight in the summer season of the 19th (regnal) year⁴. In exchange for Sudarśana we are giving the village Śālmālīpadra in the eastern division of Gōvardhana district to the mendicants of the Queen’s cave. Arrange this through the highly venerable Ōḍa.⁵

The exemptions⁶ applicable to such endowments may be granted for both the villages.”

Written by *Mahāsēnāpati* Medhuna; compared by custodians (*Paṭṭikāpālaka*) of documents.⁷

The charter made by Sātakarṇi was issued on the 7th day in. . . summer season of the 22nd (regnal) year.⁴

The charter was . . . and conveyed by Viṣṇupāla⁸ for the information of the residents of Gōvardhana.

Salutation to the supreme excellent Jina, the Buddha exalted in attainments!

NOTES

1. Probably a new city near the capital.
2. This is evidently the one excavated by the Queen Gautamī Balaśrī (see No. 134 above). Cf. the word *dharmasētu*.
3. This cave is the one referred to in No. 130 above.
4. The details of dates given here and in a subsequent paragraph below point to the interval between them being, in the minimum, one year and three months or in the maximum a little less than three years.
5. Sircar suggests that *mahāryaka* may refer to the great (*mahā*)- grand-father (*āryaka*) of the king on the maternal side.
6. The exemptions are the same as the ones mentioned in No.130 above.
7. The word used in this context is *paṭṭikāpālakas* while in No.119 above the same functionaries are called *mahāsvāmikas*.
8. He is probably the same as Viṣṇupālita of No. 119 above, though the designation 'minister' is missing here.

138. PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF DĒVILA

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 77 : 154 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	... Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Dēvila: Vāsudēva
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Base of a pillar from Mathurā, now in Indian Museum, Calcutta.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Lüders, <i>Mathura Inscriptions</i> , No. 34, p. 70

TEXT

दानं देविलस्य दधिकर्णदेवकुलिकस्य सं ७० ७ गृ ४ दिवसे २० ६ ।

SUMMARY

[This pillar is] the gift by Dēvila belonging to the shrine of Dadhikarṇṇa¹ on the 29th day in the 4th (month) of the summer season in the 77th year².

NOTES

1. This is the same deity referred to in No. 82 above.
 2. This has to be assigned to the reign of Vāsudēva. See No.136 above.
-

139. JAINA IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM MATHURĀ

Date	.. Śaka 80 : A.D. 158.
Script	.. Brāhmī
Language	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
Donor/King	.. Vāsudēva
Dynasty	.. Kushāṇa
Location	.. Mathura, U.P.
Reference	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 57, p. 162

स्थि ॥ महर्जस्य वासुदेवस्य सं ८० हमव १ दि १० २ एतस
पुर्व्यायां [सनकदासस्य] धित्र संघतिधिस वधुये बलस्य ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य वासुदेवस्य सं ८० हेमन्ते १ दि १२ एतस्यां
पूर्वायां [सनकदासस्य] दुहित्रा सङ्घातिथेः वध्वा बलस्य¹ ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the 12th day in the first month of the winter (season) in the 80th year (in the reign) of *māhārāja Vāsudēva*

By . . . the daughter of Sanakadāsa, the daughter-in-law of Saṅghātithi and the [wife] of Bala . . . ²

NOTES

1. Sircar suggests mother (*mātrā*) in this passage. Better read *kuṭumbinyā* or *bhāryayā* i.e. wife.

2. Though the portions dealing with the object of the record are damaged and lost, it apparently records the gift of the seated Jaina image (head now missing) on the pedestal of which the inscription is engraved.

**140. BĀNDHŌGARH CAVE INSCRIPTION OF BHŌJA
AND BHŌJAPĪLI**

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 80: A.D. 158
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Bhōja and Bhōjapīli/Praushṭhaśrī
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kings of Bāndhōgarh
<i>Location</i>	.. Back walls of 3 caves to the south-east of Gōpālpur, Bāndhōgarh, former Rewa state, Madhya Pradesh.
<i>Reference</i>	.. N.P. Chakravarti, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXI, p. 186, No. XX and plate.

TEXT

सव ८० गि प १ दिव ५ केतनं वछपुत-भोजस भोजपिलिस च ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

संवत् ८० ग्रीष्मपक्षे १ दिवसे ५ केतनं वत्सपुत्रभोजस्य भोजपिलेः
च ॥

SUMMARY

On the 5th day in the 2nd fortnight in the summer season in the 80th year¹ (this is) the dwelling (gift) of Vatsa's son Bhōja and Bhōjapīli.

NOTE

1. The king's name is not given. It is possible that Praushṭhaśrī whose earliest known date is (Śaka) year 86 was the reigning king. His predecessor Bhīmasēna's known date is 52 (See No. 126 above, note 4). It is not known whether he would have ruled upto the year 80.

141. INSCRIPTION OF THE STONE-MASONS' GUILD

<i>Date</i>	.. Year 81 : A.D. 159
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Stone-masons' guild/Bhadramagha
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Rulers of Kauśāmbī
<i>Location</i>	.. Kōsam, Allahabad District, Uttar Pradesh, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Krishna Deva, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXIV, pp. 253-6 and plate.

TEXT

महरजस्य श्रीभद्रमघस्य सवत्सरे एकसीते ८० १ ग्रीष्मपक्षे द्वितीय
२ दिवसे पञ्चमे ५ एतये पुरुवये कत्स-पस्थरिकश्रेणिय आसन-पट्टा
स्थपित ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य श्रीभद्रमघस्य संवत्सरे एकाशीत्यां ८१ ग्रीष्मपक्षे
द्वितीये २ दिवसे पञ्चमे ५ एतस्यां पूर्वायां कत्सप्रस्तरिकश्रेण्या आसन-
पट्टाः स्थापिताः ॥

SUMMARY

On the 5th day in the 2nd fortnight in the summer (season)
in the 81st year¹ in (the reign of) Mahārāja Bhadramagha²

These slab-seats³ were set up by the guild of the stone-masons
of Katsa.

NOTES

1. This year is assigned by the editor of the record to 329 A.D., according to the Chēdī or Kalachuri era of 248 A.D., on the basis of palaeography. This inscription is one of a series of seven inscriptions at Kōsam engraved in a peculiar writing style standing aloof from the main trends of records away from Kōsam. The latest among these seven records is dated in the year 139 which if equated with 387 A.D., is very improbable from the point of view of Gupta chronology. See also Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, I, 1965, p. 163, note 1.

2. Coins and epigraphs mention several kings who ruled over Kauśāmbī. They are kings whose names end in Mitra like Brīhatsvātimitra, Varuṇamitra, Suramitra, Prajāpatimitra etc. Some other names are Vaiśravaṇa, Bhādrāmagha Śivāmagha, and Śaṅkumagha etc. It is not known whether all or only some of them belonged to the dynasty of Meghas or Maghas mentioned in the Purāṇas. These coins and inscriptions are found in Allahabad and Fatehpur Districts of Uttar Pradesh. The rulers of Bandhōgarh in former Rewa state adjoining this region seem to have belonged to a different dynasty. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 175-177; *Indigenous States of Northern India* (circa 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.) by Bela Lahiri, pp. 107 ff.

3. Though the inscription is engraved on only one of these slabs, the record refers to all such slabs which seem to have served as seats near the bathing ghāṭs all along the bank of an ancient canal, now dried up. Two more slabs like this one, from Kōsam are dated in the year 87 in Bhādrāmagha's reign (see *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 245 ff and plate).

142. DHARMACHAKRA INSCRIPTION FROM AMARĀVATI

<i>Date</i> c. 160 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Kahūtara and Iśila/Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Two broken stones excavated at Amarā- vati, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. Burgess and Hultsch, <i>ASSI</i> , I, p. 100 and plate

TEXT

सिधं रजो वासिष्ठिपुतस सामि सिरि पुलुमाविस सवछरं
पिंदसुतरियानं कहूतरगृहपतिस पुरिगृहपतिस च पुतस इसिलस सभातुकस
. . सभगिनिकस भयाय चस नाकानिकाय सपुतकस
भगवतो महाचेतिये चैतिकियानं निकायस परिगृहे अपरदारे धमचक
देधमं [माता]पितु [उदिस ?] ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धं राज्ञो वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य स्वामि श्रीपुलुमावेः संवत्सर
पिण्डसुतरीयाणां कहूतरगृहपतेः पुरीगृहपतेः च पुत्रस्य ऋषिलस्य सभ्रातृ-
कस्य सभगिनिकस्य भार्यायाश्चास्य नागनिकायाः सपुत्रकस्य
भगवतो महाचैत्ये चैतिकीयानां निकायस्य परिग्रहे अपरद्वारे धर्मचक्रं
देयधर्मः मातापितराबुद्दिष्य ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On in the year . . . of king Svāmi Śrī Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi

Two persons belonging to the Piṇḍasutari family—the householder Kahūtara and Isila (Ṛishila), son of the householder Puri with his brothers, mother, sisters, wife Nāgaṃṇikā and sons set up a slab¹ bearing the sculpture of the wheel of *Dharma* at the western gate of the great *chaitya* of the Supreme (Buddha), which was under the protection of the Chaitikīyas.²

NOTES

1. This slab is only one of the several pieces of stone, mostly broken, which were dug up from the site. Most of the pieces bear inscriptions which, though fragmentary, reveal the patronage that the building received from a variety of contributors in the form of one part or other at various times spreading over a span of about four centuries from Aśoka's times to the times of Sātavāhana rulers. For other inscriptions and coin see Nos. 158 and 143 below and the publication under reference.

2. They were called also Pūrvaśailas and formed a subdivision of the Mahāsāṅghikas.

143. SĀTAVĀHANA BILINGUAL SILVER COIN¹

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 160 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit and Tamil
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Vāsishthīputra Sātakaṛṇi
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 88A, p. 520

TEXT

Obverse²

रञ्जो वासिठीपुतस सिरि सातकणिस ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीसातकर्णेः ।

Reverse

अरचनकु वाचिट्टि मकनकु तिरु चातकणिकु³ ॥

(Coin) of the king Vāsishthīputra Śrī Sātakaṛṇi

NOTES

1. This is one of the earliest lot of coins having legends, one in Prākṛit and the other in a non-Prākṛitic language i.e., Tamil. See note 3 below.

2. The obverse contains a bust of the king facing right; his frizzled hair tied with a ribbon, crest-jewel above the forehead, legend beginning at the top of the coin (interrupted by the jewel and with a gap lower down on the right side) and running clockwise. The reverse contains a symbol consisting of four circles at the end points of a cross, surmounted by a crescent and six-arched hill with a crescent in the centre supported by a wavy line below. Sun with rays is depicted between the two crescents. The rim of the coin is set with pellets all around.

3. This legend on the reverse is said to be by Sircar in Dravidianised Prākṛit (reading: अरहणष वाहिट्टि माकणष हातकणिष) and by I. K. Sharma (*Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire*), 1980, pp. 107-125, plate XVIII, No. 6) in Telugu language and in verse. See also Nagaswamy in *Seminar on Inscriptions*, 1966, p.200 f.

**144. INSCRIPTION REFERRING TO VĀSISHṬHĪPUTRA
SĀTAKARṆI'S QUEEN**

<i>Date</i>	.. [c. 160 A.D.]
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. [Śaka Kshatrapa—Kārdamaka] princess, consort of Sātakarṇi
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Recess over the tank on the path up the hill, Kanheri, Thana District, Maharashtra.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Bühler, <i>A.S.W.I.</i> , Vol. V, Chapter XII, Kanheri inscriptions, No. 11, p. 78, plate LI.

TEXT

... वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीसातकर्णिस्य देव्याः कार्दमकराजवं-
शप्रभवाया महाक्षत्रपरु . पुत्र्याः श्य . . .
विश्वस्यस्य अमात्यस्य शतेरकस्य पानीयभाजनं देयधर्मः ॥

SUMMARY

... of the consort of Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī **Sātakarṇi**, born of the family of the Kārdamaka king and the daughter of Mahākshatrapa Ru².

[This] water-cistern is the pious gift of Śātēraka, the minister of Viśvasya³

NOTES

1. Note that the inscription is in Sanskrit language following the practice in Śaka-Kshatrapa records, especially those of Rudradāman.

2. Possibly Rudradāman (see Sircar, *ibid.*, p. 178). This record is placed here because of the obvious identity of the twice-defeated Sātakarṇi, the adversary of Rudradaman with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who was spared on account of the matrimonial alliance revealed here and referred to in No. 135. It is possible that the Sātavahana king referred to in this record was another son, or brother of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

3. He was probably the local viceroy under the Kshatrapas, whose minister had the cistern made on behalf of or at the command of the Kārdamaka princess.

145. LINTEL INSCRIPTION FROM KŌSAM

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 86 : A.D. 164
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Hēmāṅga/ Bhadramagha
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Rulers of Kauśāmbi
<i>Location</i>	.. Hasanabad near Kosam, Allahabad District, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 57A, p. 163

TEXT

[स्वस्ति] । महाराजस्य श्रीभद्रमघस्य सं ८० ६ वर्षपिक्ष ३ दिवस
५ . . . कस्य शपरस्य पुत्रहेमाङ्गन . . . दत्ता अयाया देवदार ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

स्वस्ति । महाराजस्य श्रीभद्रमघस्य संवत्सरे ८३ वर्षपिक्षे ३ दिवसे
५ . . . कस्य¹ शपरस्य पुत्रेण हेमाङ्गेन . . . दत्तं आयायाः
देवद्वारम् ॥

SUMMARY

[This is the] doorway for the goddess given by Hēmāṅga, son of Śapara [of Kauśāmbi] on the fifth day in the third fortnight of the rainy (season) in the year 86 of Mahārāja Śrī **Bhadramagha**.²

NOTES

1. The word preceding the word Sapara in the text in conjecturally restored by Sircar as Kauśāmbikasya.

2. See No. 141 above, note 2.

146. KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ŚIVAMAGHA

<i>Date</i>	.. Near about 164 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Śivamagha
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Kōsam, Allahabad District, Uttar Pradesh (now in the Provincial museum, Lucknow)
<i>Reference</i>	.. D. R. Sahni, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XVIII, p. 159 (Inscription No. II) and plate.

TEXT

महाराजस्य श्रीशिवमघस्य संवत्सर वर्षपक्षे २
दिवसे प्रथमे एतस्यां पूर्वायां . . . कस्य सं(शं)करवलपुत्रस्य दविष्ठ-
कस्य शमनकपुत्रस्य धरकस्य णंदवलपुत्रस्य¹[मन्द]नकस्य श(द)मनक-
पुत्रस्य धरकस्य यसवलपुत्रस्य कक्कस्य ॥

SUMMARY

[This is a grant made collectively] by . . .ka Davishṭhaka, son of Śaṅkarabala, Dharaka, son of Śamanaka, Mandanaka, son of Nandabala, Dharaka, son of Damanaka and Kakka, son of Yasa-bala (Yaśōbala) on the first day of the second fortnight of the rainy season in the year . . . of Mahārāja Śivamagha.²

NOTES

1. Read नंदवलपुत्र

2. It is apparent that Śivamagha belonged to the same dynasty as that of Bhadramagha (See No. 141 aboye). Palaeography also supports this.

A clay seal excavated from Bhītā near Allahabad, bears a legend in similar characters reading *Mahārāja-Gautamīputrasya Śrī Śivamaghasya* (*An. Rep. ASI*, 1911-12, p.51 and plate) meaning "(Seal) of Mahārāja Gautamīputra Śrī Śivamagha," who is identical with the king of the present record. The seal, oval in shape, bears on the top, bow with arrow and a pile of balls. Between these and the legend in the middle of the seal are drawn the figures of a woman standing, facing the viewer with her right hand outstretched and with her left on her hip and of a bull facing left with a crescent beneath its neck. Behind the bull a post or a thunderbolt is seen.

**147. BĀNDHŌGARH INSCRIPTION OF MINISTER
BHABĀṬHA**

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 86 : A.D. 164
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Bhabāṭha/Praushṭhaśrī
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kings of Bāndhōgarh
<i>Location</i>	.. Back wall of a big hall in cave No. 7, south of cave No. 6, West of Gōpalpur, Bāndhōgarh, M.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. N.P. Chakravarti, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XXXI, p. 182, No. X and plate.

TEXT

सिधं । महाराजस कोछिपुतस पोठसिरिस संवचरे ८० ६ गि प ६
दिव १० एतिय पुरुवय नेगमस उज्जस पुतेन अमच भबाठेन केतन-
लताघर कारापिता । धमो वधतु ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् । महाराजस्य कौत्सीपुत्रस्य प्रौष्ठश्रियः संवत्सरे ८६
ग्रीष्मपक्षे ६ दिवसे १० एतस्यां पूर्वायां नैगमस्य उज्जस्य पुत्रेण अमात्य-
भबाठेन^२ केतनलातागृहं कारितम् । धर्मो वर्द्धताम् ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the 10th day in the 6th fortnight of the summer season in the 86th year (in the reign) of Mahārāja Kautsiputra¹ **Praushthaśrī**

Minister Bhabāṭha², son of merchant Ujjha, got a cave-dwelling made (i.e. excavated)

May *Dharma* grow!

NOTES

1. See No.126, note 3 above.

2. Possibly for बभाट or बाभट

148. BĀNDHŌGAṚH INSCRIPTION OF MINISTER MAGHA

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 86 : A.D. 164
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Magha/Praushthaśrī
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kings of Bāndhōgaṛh
<i>Location</i>	.. Back wall of cave No. 3 to west of Gōpāl- pur, Bāndhōgaṛh, former Rewa State, Madhya Pradesh.
<i>Reference</i>	.. N.P. Chakravarti, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XXXI, p. 181, No. VIII, and plate.

TEXT

सिद्धम् । भट्टारकहमाविलालपरिगृहीतस्य महाराजभीमसेनपुत्रस्य
महाराजस्य कोछिनुतस्य पोठसिरिस संवत्सरे छासीते ८० ६ गिम्हपखे
सप्तमे ७ दिवसे १० एतायं पुरुवायं महाराजपोठसिरिस संधिविहगि-
वावतेन अमचचकोरपुतेन अमचमघेन धमनिमित्तं वापियो खानितायो द्वे
२ लाताघरा बे झटिमयो आरामो च । पुण्यं वर्धतु ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् । भट्टारकहमाविलालपरिगृहीतस्य महाराजभीमसेनपुत्रस्य
महाराजस्य कौत्सीपुत्रस्य प्रौष्ठश्रियः संवत्सरे षडशीत्यां ८६ ग्रीष्मपक्षे
सप्तमे ७ दिवसे १० एतस्यां पूर्वायां महाराजप्रौष्ठश्रियः संधिविग्रहिव्या-
पृतेन अमात्यचकोरपुत्रेण अमात्यमघेन धमनिमित्तं वाप्यौ खानिते द्वे २
लातागृहे द्वे झटिमयः आरामः च । पुण्यं वर्धताम् ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the 10th day in the 7th fortnight of the summer season in the 86th year (in the reign) of Mahārāja Kautsīputra **Praushthaśrī**, son of Mahārāja Bhīmasēna, protected by Lord Hamāvilāla¹

Minister Magha in charge of peace and war (*sandhi-vigrahi*), son of Minister Chakōra, gave two wells, two cave-dwellings² and a garden full of shrubs, for charity.

May merit prosper!

NOTES

1. The identity of this deity is not known. Vilāla may mean 'cat'. It is suggested that it may refer to a local cat-god like the tiger-god Dakṣiṇa-rāya of the Sunderbans (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 177, note 2). Compare with Mahāsēna mentioned in No. 181 below.

2. Among the group of caves including the present one cave No. 2 has one short inscription reading *bhūtachara* (*bhūtachārīn*) referring to Śiva, the leader of demons. Small records in cave No. 6 in this group including one reading *Śivabhakta* and another *Śiva* point to the Śivabhakta association of these caves (see *Ep.*, *Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 172-3).

2. The same inscription is engraved on another cave (No. 4 to the east of the present one) also thus proving this meaning. See *ibid.*, p. 181 No. IX and plate.

149. BĀNDHŌGAṚH CAVE INSCRIPTION OF TWO MERCHANTS

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 86 : A.D. 164
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Praushthaśrī
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kings of Bāndhōgaṛh
<i>Location</i>	.. Back wall of Cave No. 5 in Ganesh Pahad, Bāndhōgaṛh, Former Rewa State, Madhya Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. N.P. Chakravarti, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XXXI, p. 180, No. VI and plate

TEXT

सिद्धम् । महाराजस कोछीपुतस पोठसिरिस संवछरे छासीते ८०
६ हेमंतपखे पथमे १ दिवस पंचमे ५ एतायं पुरुवायं कोसंबेयस नेगमस
चककस नतिकस फगुहथिकस पुत्रस रखितिकए नेगमस छमिकस नतिकस
नेगमस दतिकस पुत्रस चेलाए एतेसं दोनं जनानं सहीयं पुतकेहि आरामो
लाता निचचगवारो च । धमो वधतु । इयं छतलता ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् । महाराजस्य कौत्सीपुत्रस्य प्रौष्ठश्रियः संवत्सरे षडशीत्यां
८६ हेमन्तपक्षे प्रथमे १ दिवसे पञ्चमे ५ एतस्यां पूर्वायां कौशाम्बीयस्य
नैगमस्य चक्रकस्य नप्तुः फल्गुहस्तिकस्य पुत्रस्य रक्षितिकायाः नैगमस्य
क्षमिकस्य नप्तुः नैगमस्य दतिकस्य पुत्रस्य चेलायाः एतयोः द्वयोः जनयोः

सह पुत्रकैः आरामः लाताः नीचैः शृङ्गवाटः च । धर्मः वर्द्धताम् । इयं
छात्र-लाता ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the 5th day in the 1st fortnight in the winter season in the 86th year in the reign of Kautsiputra¹ Praushthaśrī.

Two persons², one (name not given), grandson of Chakraka (who was) a merchant from Kauśāmbi³ and son of Phalguhastika and Rakhitikā and another, grandson of a merchant Kshamika and son of a merchant Dattika and Chēlā in the company of their parents and sons gave a garden, cave-dwellings⁴ and a crossway below.

May *dharma* increase!

This is the students' cave⁵.

NOTES

1. A metronymic. See No. 126 above, note 3.
2. The names of these two persons are not given. But the names of their parents and grandfathers are given. Chakravarti has taken Rakshita and Chēlā as the names of these two persons. But they are names of two females Rakshitikā and Chēlā.
3. This is Kosam near Allahabad.
4. There are five caves in Ganesh Pahād including the present one. This inscription is found engraved in four other caves also (marked as Nos. II-IV and VI in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 178-89).
5. The inscription (No. III) in cave No. 2 ends with the statement that it is the merchants' cave (*sārthika lāta*) while in Nos. II (cave No. 1), IV (cave No. 3), (cave No. 5) and the present one (I) end with the statement that the cave is *Chhata-lāta*, obviously meaning the cave for the novices (*chhātra*). No. V states that the cave (No. 4) is a hall (*maṇḍapa*) excavated into the rock, probably intended as their meeting place.

150. BĀNDHŌGAṚH INSCRIPTION OF PUSHYA

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 87 : A.D. 165
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Pushya/Praushṭhaśrī
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kings of Bāndhōgaṛh
<i>Location</i>	.. Back wall of cave No. 12, southwest of Gōpālpur, Bāndhōgaṛh, former Rewa State, Madhya Pradesh.
<i>Reference</i>	.. N.P. Chakravarti, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXI, p. 185, No. XVII and plate.

TEXT

सिद्धं^१ । महाराजस कोछीपुतस पोठसिरिस संव ८० ७ वास प
२ दिव ५ एताए पुरुवाए पवतवथवस नेगमस आयासकपुतस पुसस वापी
लाताधरो वायामशाला चा धर्मो वढतु ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् । महाराजस्य कौत्सीपुत्रस्य प्रौष्ठश्रियः संवत्सरे ८७
वर्षपक्षे २ दिवसे ५ एतस्यां पूर्वायां पर्वतवास्तव्यस्य नैगमस्य आयासक-
पुत्रस्य पुष्यस्य वापी लातागृहं व्यायामशाला च । धर्मो वर्धताम् ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the 5th day in the 2nd fortnight of the rainy season in the 87th year (in the reign) of Mahārāja Kautsīputra **Praushṭhaśrī**

A tank, cave-dwelling and a gymnasium are (donated as the gifts) of merchant Pushya², son of Āyāsaka and a resident of Parvata
May *dharma* increase!

NOTES

1. Engraved on the margin.
2. Chakravarti suggests that Pushya is identical with Pushyaka mentioned in No. 115 above as the father of the trader (*vāṇiyaka*) Phalguna. Pushya is described as a merchant (*naigama*) in this inscription. This would, suggest, in turn that Mahārāja Praushthaśrī of this record and Chitrasēna of the other are contemporaneous, which is not supported by palaeography, besides the names being different. We have fixed the date of Chitrasēna as circa A.D. 120. See No. 115 above.

151. BĀNDHŌGAṚH CAVE INSCRIPTION OF GAHAVUDHI

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 88 : A.D. 166
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Gahavudhi/Praushṭhaśrī
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kings of Bāndhōgaṛh
<i>Location</i>	.. Right of the back wall, cave No. 9 in Ganesh Pahad, Bāndōgaṛh, former Rewa State, Madhya Pradesh.
<i>Reference</i>	.. N.P. Chakravarti, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXI, p. 180, No. VII and plate.

TEXT

सिधं । महाराजस कोछीपुतस पोठसिरिस सवछरे अठासीते ८०
८ हेमंतपखे बित्तीये २ दिवसे पचमे ५ एतायं पुरुवायं वानिजकस
माथुरकस जिवनकस पौत्रेन सुहितस पुत्रेन सपतनैरिकवथवेन वानिजकेन
गह्वुधिना इमा धमचरणा लाता कूपि च खानिता । त्रियतां भगवा ।
धमो पुन्य च इह च मे पुण्यं वर्धतु । सथसरिरो च आनिनमानस
निवि दिता । धमो लिखति । यो मिये मम वा पुतेहि अनपेहि शतेहि कुपि
घटिक रजु च दतं सोधेय च तस य कुपे फलं ततो अधं अनुमंनति येन
खानित्ता ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् । महाराजस्य कौत्सीपुत्रस्य प्रौष्ठश्रियः संवत्सरे अष्टा-
शीत्यां ८८ हेमन्तपक्षे द्वितीये २ दिवसे पञ्चमे ५ एतस्यां पूर्वायां

वाणिजकस्य माथुरकस्य जीवनकस्य पौत्रेण सुहितस्य पुत्रेण सप्तनैरिक-
वास्तव्येन वाणिजकेन गृहवृद्धिना इमानि धर्माचरणानि लयनं कूपश्च
खानिताः । प्रीयतां भगवान् । धर्मः पुण्यं च इह च मम पुण्यं वर्धताम् ।
स्वस्थशरीरिणा च अनन्यमनसा नीविः दत्ता । धर्मो लिखति । ये मया
मम वा पुत्रैः अनपायैः शस्तैः कूपः घटिका रज्जुः च दत्तं सौधेयं च तस्य
यत् कूपे फलं ततः अर्द्धम् अनुमन्यते येन खानितः ॥

SUMMARY

Success !

On the 5th day in the 2nd fortnight of the winter season in the 88th year (in the reign) of Mahārāja Kautsīputra¹ **Praushṭhaśrī**

This cave and a well are dug by Gahavudhi (Grihavṛiddhi), a merchant residing at Saptanairika, grandson of merchant Jivanaka of Mathurā and son of Suhita.

May the supreme be pleased. May *dharma* and merit and my own merit in this world increase. An endowment is also given while in perfect health and undivided mind. The *dhārmic* act is recorded.

Half of the merit accruing from this charity will go to persons including my sons who provide pot, rope and plastering of the well.

NOTE

1. This is a metronymic.

152. BĀNDHŌGAṚH INSCRIPTION OF DHANAMITRA

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 90 : A.D. 168
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Dhanamitra/Bhaṭṭadēva
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kings of Bāndhōgaṛh
<i>Location</i>	.. Back and right walls of cave No. 5 west of Gōpālpur, Bandhogaṛh, former Rewa State, M.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. N.P. Chakravarti, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXI, p. 182, No. XI and plate.

TEXT

सिद्धं । महाराजस भट्टदेवस संवत्सरे नवते ९० हेमंतपखे पधम
१ दिवसे पधमे १ एताए पुरुवाये नेगमस अज्ञातकस नतिकेन वेसाखस
पुत्रेन नेगमेन धनमितकेन लयन कारिता । धर्मो वधतु ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् । महाराजस्य भट्टदेवस्य संवत्सरे नवत्यां ९० हेमन्तपक्षे
प्रथमे १ दिवसे प्रथमे १ एतस्यां पूर्वायां नैगमस्य अज्ञातकस्य नप्त्या
वैशाखस्य पुत्रेण नैगमेन धनमित्तेण लयनं कारितम् । धर्मः वर्धताम् ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the 1st day in the 1st fortnight of the winter season in the 90th year in the reign of Mahārāja Bhaṭṭadēva¹

Dhanamitra, a merchant and grandson of merchant Ajñātaka and son of Vaiśākha made (i.e. got excavated) a cave.

May *dharma* prosper !

NOTE

1. Two fragmentary inscriptions in cave No. 8 (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 183, Nos. XIII, A & B and plate) seem to refer to this king as the son of Mahārāja Praushthasrī and as a Kauśikīputra.

Cave No. 9 bears on either side of a doorway on the north wall of a hall a very damaged inscription which, as could be read in parts, contains the expressions *Mahārāja Śivamaghasya* (of Mahārāja Śivamagha) and *navaima lātā-grihāḥ* (these nine cave-dwellings i.e. cells within the cave). See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 184, No. XIV and plate. This Śivamagha is different from the ruler of the same name in No. 145 above on account of the fact that the style of writing is entirely different.

153. BUDDHA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF ŚRAMAṆA

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 93 : A.D. 171-72
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Śramaṇa/Vāsudēva
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Kushāṇa
<i>Location</i>	.. Mathurā, U.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. V.M. Srivastava, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XXXVII, pp. 151 ff. and plate.

TEXT

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य वासुदेवस्य सं ९० ३ हे ४ दि
२० ५ अस्यां पूर्वायां भगवतो पितामहस्य स्वमतस्य अविर्द्धस्य प्रतिमा
छत्रं च प्रतिस्थापितं आर्यधर्मेश्वरं आर्यमाघं आर्यधनं पितरं च शर्वनंदि
मातरं च जिवसिरि पुरस्कृत्य श्रमणेनां कायस्तेनां ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य वासुदेवस्य सं ९३ हे ४ दि २५
अस्यां पूर्वायां भगवतः पितामहस्य स्वमतस्य अविर्द्धस्य प्रतिमा छत्रं च
प्रतिष्ठापितं आर्यधर्मेश्वरं आर्यमाघं आर्यधनं पितरं च सर्वनन्दिनं मातरं
च जीवश्रियं पुरस्कृत्य श्रमणेन कायस्थेन ॥

SUMMARY

On the 25th day in the fourth month of 93rd year (in the reign)
of Mahārāja Dēvaputra Vāsudēva

The image (along with a parasol) of the supreme Pītāmaha¹ (i.e. Buddha) who lived according to his own teachings², was set up

by *Kāyastha*³ Śramaṇa having honoured (i.e. in the immediate presence of)⁴ the venerable Dharmēśvara, Māgha, Dhana, father Sarvanandi and mother Jivaśrī.

NOTES

1. Compare No. 93 above.
2. The alternative meaning 'one who was consistent with his own teachings' is also possible as pointed out by Sircar (*Sel. Ins.*, I, p. 295, note 4).
3. This is the name of a sub-caste of writers, whose forefathers were born of Kshatriya fathers and Śūdra mothers (*Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, I, 322).
4. It is apparent that the donor donated this image at the instance of his teachers and parents. See, loc. cit, note 1, on p. 153.

154. GUNDĀ INSCRIPTION OF ĀBHĪRA RUDRABHŪTI

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 103 : A.D. 181
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Rudrabhūti/ Rudrasimha
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka Kshatrapa (Kārdamaka family)
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone, Gundā, Junāgadh District, Gujarat (Now in Watson Museum, Rājkot).
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 69, p. 181-82.

TEXT

सिद्धं ॥ राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिचण्डनप्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य
स्वामिजयदामपौत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिरुद्रदामपुत्रस्य राज्ञो
क्षत्रपस्य स्वामिरुद्रसीहस्य वर्षे त्रियु(त्यु)त्तरशते १०० ३ वैशाखशुद्धे
पंचम [धन्य] तिथौ रोहिणिनक्षत्रमुहूर्त्ते आभीरेण सेनापतिवापकस्य पुत्रेण
सेनापतिरुद्रभूतिना ग्रामे रसोपद्रिये वापी खानिता वन्धापितश्च सर्व-
सत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थमिति ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the auspicious fifth day in the bright fortnight (in the month of) Vaiśākha at the time (when) the star Rōhiṇī (was current) in the year 103 (in the reign) of king Kshatrapa *svāmi* **Rudrasimha**, son of king Mahākshatrapa *svāmi* Rudradāman, grandson of king Kshatrapa *svāmi* Jayadāman and the great-grandson of king Mahākshatrapa *svāmi* Chashṭana

a well was excavated at Rasōpadri and embanked for the welfare and comfort of all living beings

by Rūdrabhūti, the commander of the army, the son of commander Bāpaka and an Ābhīra¹.

NOTE

1. The Ābhīras originally lived near Vinaśana in the Rajasthan desert. They next settled in the Lower Indus valley and then in Northern Konkan. They established a dynastic rule around Nasik, the Sātavāhana capital from about A.D. 212. See No.166 below.

155. JUNĀGAḌH INSCRIPTION OF THE GRANDSON OF JAYADĀMAN

<i>Date</i>	.. Circa 180-81 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. [Rudrasimha I]
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka Kshatrapa (Kārdamaka family)
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone in the cell of a cave east of Junāgaḍh, Gujarat
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel.Ins.</i> , I, No. 70, p. 183.

TEXT

. स्तथा सुरगणेन क्षत्राणां प्रथम
. चष्टनस्य प्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामिजयदाम(म्नः)
पौत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य चैत्रशुक्लस्य
दिवसे पंचमे ५ इह गिरिनगरे देवासुरनागयक्षराक्षसे
तथा पुरमिव केवलिज्ञानसंप्राप्तानां
जरामरण

SUMMARY

Here at Girinagara¹ for those who have attained the highest possible knowledge [beyond] old age and death on the fifth day in the bright fortnight (in the month) of Chaitra, of king, the son of king Mahākshatrapa², the

grandson of king Kshatrapa Jayadāman and the great- grandson of . . . Chashtana . . . [served by] the divine beings and . . and like the city

NOTES

1. Modern Girnar near Junagaḍh (see No. 135 above).
2. This suggests that this Mahākshatrapa was Rudradāman and his son, the reigning king was Dāmaysada or *Rudrasimha* I, possibly the latter as stated by Sircar.

156. JUNĀGAḌH INSCRIPTION OF JĪVADĀMAN I

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 180-81 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit (corrupt)
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Sons of Rāmaka/Jīvadāman
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone at the top of the citadel in the Fort, Junāgaḍh, now in the Bahādur Khān-Ji Museum, Junāgaḍh, Gujarat.
<i>Reference</i>	.. R.D. Banerji, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XVIII, pp. 339-40 and plate

TEXT

... क्षत्रपस्य स्वामिजीवदामस्य एताय पूर्व्याय वर्षे १००
 ... वास्तुदत्तस्य वास्तुनन्दिकस्य वास्तुशर्मकस्य रामकस्य
 पुत्रा ॥

SUMMARY

On. . . . in the 100+. year in the reign of Mahākshatrapa Jīvadāman

. . . . [donated by] Vāstudatta, Vāstunandika and Vāstuśarmaka, sons of Rāmaka

NOTE

1. Banerji reads Vastradatta. Only *stradatta* is available on the fragmentary stone in which the first few letters of the two lines of the text are lost. Vāstudatta is probably the intended reading. The consistency in the use of the word *Vāstu* seems to imply that all the three persons might have been architects, though the edifices which owe their creation to them are not known.

157. NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF VĀSU

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 7 : c. 181 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/Kiug</i>	.. Vāsu/Yajña Sātakarṇi
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Cave No. 20, verandah, back wall, Nasik, Nasik District, Maharashtra.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 89, p. 211.

TEXT

सिध । रज्रो गोतमिपुतस सामिसिरियज्ञसातकणिस संवछर
सातमे ७ हेमताण पखे ततिये ३ दिवसे पथमे कोसिकस महासे[णा]पतिस
[भ]वगोपस भरिजाय महासेनापतिणिय वासुय लेण बोपकियतिसुजमाने
अपर्यवसितसमाने बहुकाणि वरिसाणि उकुते पयवसाण नितो चातुदिसस
च भिखुसघस आवसो दतो ति ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः गौतमीपुत्रस्य स्वामिश्रीयज्ञसातकर्णेः संवत्सरं
सप्तमे ७ हेमन्तस्य पक्षे तृतीये ३ दिवसे प्रथमे १ कौशिकस्य महासेना-
पतेः भवगोपस्य भार्यया महासेनापत्या वास्वा लयनं बोपक्यतिसृज्य-
मानं अपर्यवसितसमानं बहुकानि वर्षाणि उत्कृत्तम् पर्यवसानं नीतं,
चातुर्दिशाय च भिक्षुसङ्घाय आवासः दत्त इति ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the first day in the third fortnight in the winter season of the 7th regnal year of king Gautamīputra lord Śrī Yajña¹-Sātakarṇi

Vāsu, the wife of Mahāsēnāpati Bhavagōpa² of the Kauśika (lineage) completed and gave (this) cave, originally created by the ascetic Bōpaki but not completed for several years, as a residence for the association of mendicants of all regions.

NOTES

1. The name Yajña is obviously used to distinguish him from an ancestor who was also a Gautamīputra. This king is known to have ruled for at least 27 years according to an inscription from Chinna Ganjam (Bühler in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 96)
2. Bhavagōpa's wife Vāsu is called Mahāsēnāpatini in the inscription.

158. LEAD COIN OF YAJÑA SĀTAKARṆI

<i>Date</i>	.. C. A.D. 181
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Yajña-Sātakarṇi
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Amarāvati, Guntur District, A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. I.K. Śarma, <i>Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire</i> , p. 256, No. c. 21a and plate XV.

TEXT

*Obverse*¹

रत्रो गोतमिपुत्रस सिरि यत्र सातकर्णिस

TEXT SANSKRITISED

राज्ञः गौतमीपुत्रस्य श्री यज्ञसातकर्णः

SUMMARY

(Coin) of King Gautamīputra Yajña-Sātakarṇi²

NOTES

1. The obverse of the coin having the legend bears a ten-arched hill surmounted by trough-like crescent, conch to the right and lotus to the left, with stalk. The legend begins at the top and runs clockwise. The reverse contains a symbol of a cross affixed at the ends with a dot within two concentric circles. One of the circles has a crescent over it.

2. For the latest and complete catalogue of numerous Sātavāhana coins see I.K. Sarma, op.cit. The coins bear on the reverse, some of the symbols of *Svastika*, *Śrīvatsa*, bull, tree guarded by railing, elephant, lion, horse, portraits of kings, double-masted ship etc.

159. MEMORIAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF AJAMITRA

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 105 : A.D. 183
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Ajamitra/ Rudrasimha
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka Kshatrapa (Kārdamaka family)
<i>Location</i>	.. Wandh, Manavi Taluk, Kutch District, Gujarat (now in the Museum at Bhuj)
<i>Reference</i>	.. P.R. Srinivasan, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXVII, p. 144 and plate

TEXT

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामि रुद्रदामपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामि-
रुद्रसिंहस वरिशो १०० ५ कार्तिक बहुल दिवसे वितिपायां तिथौ मातृ-
सेविकाए गों . . न्द्रकंठित अतिमुतक सगोत्राए अष्टि अजमित्रेण उथपित
कशदेशिकए ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिरुद्रदामपुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य
स्वामिरुद्रसिंहस्य वर्षे १०५ कार्तिक बहुल दिवसे द्वितीयायां तिथौ
मातृसेविकायाः गो . न्द्रकंठित अतिमुतकसगोत्रायाः यष्टिः अजमित्रेण
उत्थापिता कशदेशिकायाः ॥

SUMMARY

On the second day of the dark fortnight in the month of Kārttika in the year 105 (in the reign) of king Mahākshatrapa *svāmi* Rudra-simha, son of king Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman

[This memorial] stone was set up by Ajamitra for Mātṛisēvikā, a lady of the Atimutaka *gōtra* hailing from Kaśadēśa.

160. BADARIKĀRĀMA INSCRIPTION FROM KŌSAM

<i>Date</i>	.. [Śaka] 107 : A.D. 185
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Māgha/Vaiśravaṇa
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maghas of Kauśāmbi
<i>Location</i>	.. Kōsam, Allahabad District, Uttar Pradesh, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.
<i>Reference</i>	.. N.G. Majumdar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXIV, pp. 146-48 and plate

TEXT

महाराजस्य श्री वैश्रवणस्य संवत्सरे सप्तोत्तरशततमे¹ १०० ७
श्रीष्मपक्षे सप्तमे ७ दिवसे प्रथमे । एताय पुरुवय³ शुक्तिमतिव[†*]-
स्तव्यस्य नेगमस्य⁴ सोरठकस्य नप्ता नेगमस्य⁴ शुर्पाय⁵पुत्रो वणिजकः⁶
अविरुद्धश्रावको माघः पूर्वसिद्धायतने बदरिकारामे भगवतो(तः)
पितामहस्य संम्यक्संबुद्धस्य दशलम्⁷ अष्टाभिज्ञस्य पूजार्थं छत्रं प्रतिष्ठा-
पयति । ८नमोऽस्तु सर्वबुद्धेभ्यः । पुण्यं⁹ वर्द्धतु ॥

SUMMARY

On the 1st day in the 7th fortnight in the summer (season) in the 107th year (in the reign) of Mahārāja **Vaiśravaṇa**

The trader Māgha, a lay uninhibited worshipper, son of the merchant Śūrpāya and grandson of the merchant Soratḥaka

residing at Śuktimati sets up an umbrella in the Pūrvvasiddha temple at Badarikārāma¹⁰ for the worship of the Supreme Pitāmaha,¹¹ Daśabala¹² the Buddha perfectly enlightened and experienced in the eight-fold path.

Salutation to all the Buddhas.¹³

May virtue increase.

NOTES

1. The original reads: शक्तिमे
2. The original reads: गृष्मा
3. Read: एतस्यां पूर्वार्थी
4. Read: नैगमस्य
5. Probably for शूर्पार्यं°
6. Reads: वनिजकः
7. Read: दशबलस्य
8. Reads: नेम
9. Reads: पुन्यम्
10. Badarikārāma is mentioned in the Buddhist texts (*Tittira-jātaka*, *Tipallatthamika-jātaka* and *Samyuttanikāya*) as a locality situated in the vicinity of Kauśāmbi. For a reference to a similar place called Ghōshitārāma see No. 99 above.
11. See No. 93 above.
12. See No. 185, note 4 below.
13. See No. 100 above.

161. STONE VESSEL INSCRIPTION FROM KAILVAN

<i>Date</i>	.. Year 108 : A.D. 186
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i> /Viśākhamitra
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Kailvan, Barh Sub-division, Patna District, Bihar.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXI, pp. 229-231 and plate.

TEXT

राज्ञो अर्यविशखमित्रस्य शवछरे सताठे १०० ँ गिम्हपखे स(अ)-
[ठ*]मा(मे) ँ दिवस पचमे ५ भगवतो अचरियस्य कुडे उपनिते ।
महनदके फगुनदिके कितिभूतिकमिश हि कुडे उपनित भगवतो ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

राज्ञः आर्यविशाखमित्रस्य संवत्सरे अष्टोत्तरशते १०८ ग्रीष्मपक्षे
अष्टमे ँ दिवसे पञ्चमे ५ भगवते आचार्याय कुण्डम् उपनीतम् ।
महानदके फल्गुनदिकायां कीर्त्तिभूतिकमिश्रं हि कुण्डम् उपनीतं
भगवतः ॥

SUMMARY

On the 5th day in the 8th fortnight of the summer (season) in the year 108 (in the reign) of king Ārya¹ Viśākhamitra²

The vessel of the most worshipped teacher is offered as a present. The vessel associated with his fame and power is presented into the (confluence of the) rivers³ Mahānada⁴ and Phalgunadi.⁵

NOTES

1. This is not known as a dynastic name.
 2. Numerous local rulers of different families in Northern India had *mitra* as a suffix in their names. Hence it is not possible to assign this king to any particular dynasty or family though the editor of the record designates the dynasty as 'Mitrās of Magadha'. (See Bela Lahiri, *Indigenous States of Northern India* (circa 200 B.C. to 320 A.D.), pp. 92-107.
 3. Casting of a vessel associated with the departed souls in the waters is an ancient custom. Gaya where such ceremonies are performed is on the banks of the holy river Phalgu.
 4. Mahānada is the present Mahanā river about two miles away from Kailvan. 'Nada' seems to indicate that it is flowing westwards (personified as a male).
 5. The river Phalgu has a branch Dhōvā which flows and meets Mahānada at a point six miles from Kailvan. Dhōvā seems to be called Phalgu by courtesy.
-

162. COPPER COINS¹ OF THE YAUDHĒYAS—II

<i>Date</i>	.. 2nd century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Yaudhēyas
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Sonpath, Jogadheri etc., in Eastern Punjab; Shaharanpur, and Rohtak in Punjab.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, V. A. Smith, Vol. I, p. 181

TEXT

भगवतः स्वामिनः ब्रह्मण्यदेवस्य कुमारस्य यौधेयानां ॥

SUMMARY

‘Of the supreme lord Brahmanyadēva² Kumāra (and) of the Yaudhēyas’.

NOTES

1. This type of coin bears on its obverse a legend which is made up of some parts or other available in several coins. It also contains the figure of a six-headed god (Kārttikēya) standing on lotus, with left hand on hip, right hand raised towards a spiked spear and also that of a tree surrounded by a railing around, drawn on the right. The reverse has the figure of a six-headed goddess (*Kṛittikā*, the foster mother) standing on a lotus, facing tree surrounded by a railing, on the right, and also that of a six-arched structure with umbrella, on the left. A few specimens bear the name *dramma* (Greek *drachma*) for the coin. See Nos. 55, note 2, 211 and 212.

2. This word means ‘god devoted to sacred knowledge’.

163. WOODEN PILLAR INSCRIPTION FROM KIRĀRĪ

<i>Date</i>	.. 2nd century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Wooden pillar dug up from a silted tank bed, Kirārī, Chhattisgarh District, M.P. now in Govt. Museum, Nagpur.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hirananda Sastri, <i>EP. Ind.</i> , XVIII, p. 157 and plate

TEXT

नगररखिणो वीरपालितचिरगोहके सेनापति देववमदेयाधि
. णौतावस . हथि वमदेयिक म . सपटलि . . . ई
सा . इ इ सा . . इ सा . नौ भटाय केसव वीठि दकाखिक
तते साविड निमित्त प्रतिहार-खपत्ति-गणक-नौगाहे असि गाहपातिय
घरिक भण्डाकारिक असाधिअ वैहाथाधिआर हथारोहे असारोहे
देवथयक पादमूलिक रथिक सिसार खखिमल बुतनमक तभक महानसिक
कुकुडवत हाथिवक यमस्त्रिक धावक सगन्धके गोमण्डलिक यानसाला-
युधघरिके दलि अखेम्ह पलविठिद बालिके अवसकारक स[व OR ख]-
रदा[प OR ह]दे अक वदि केखवनाषो वछरे अनु . यिनो दुनुवृत्त लेह-
हारके [पेत्स पयुतसाव?] कुलि(ल)पुत्र कुलि(ल)पुत्रमनुसेनापति
बु . . . सलिनम . बु . हेसर महासेनानि सिठराज . . कुद्ध . .

. . . पुतस पिज्त्त(?) रपयति गमे पुवरठि कवयु
 से . न कुमारो ड . नायक भययु [or घे] २(द)पा
 . . ट(?) अ पुनविया म ॥

SUMMARY¹

City-guards² Virapālita and Chiragōhaka, Commander, officer for religious establishments, . . . Record-keeper, Labour-manager (?), Reader of omens, Chamberlain Akshapati, Accountant Heasi - a Nāga, Keeper of the (royal) house Gharika, Store-keeper Asādhia Vaihāthādhīāra, Elephant rider, Equestrian Dēva-thāyaka, Attendant³, Charioteer, Kitchen-officer, Superintendent of elephants, Forerunner, Officer in charge of perfumery, Officer in charge of cows, Officer in charge of carriage-shed and armoury, Superintendent of meat-stalls, Letter-carrier, Nobleman, Commander-in-chief Siṭharaja. . . .

NOTES

1. The pillar made out of *sāla* wood is surmounted by a solid pot (*kalaśa*) with a narrow neck and broad mouth, its body being elliptical in shape. The text based on an eye-copy consists mostly of a list of officers along with their designations. The information on the purpose of the record or context is lost on account of its damaged and eroded condition.
2. The terms denoting the designations of the officers reflect the hierarchy of those times. The list of these designations is the earliest and interesting, though the entire list could not be made out nor is it possible to present the text in Sanskrit completely and satisfactorily.
3. There are some words following some of the designations after this portion, which are not sufficiently intelligible.

164. GADHĀ MEMORIAL STONE INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	.. Śaka 127 : A.D. 205
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Rudrasēna
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka Kshatrpa (Chasṭana's family)
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone at Gadhā near Jasdon, Rajkot District, Gujarat (now in Watson Museum, Rajkot)
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, No. 72, p. 185.

TEXT

वर्षे १०० २० ७ भाद्रपदबहुलस ५ । राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस भद्रमुखस
स्वम चष्टणपुत्रप्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञो क्षत्रपस स्वामी जयदमपुत्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञो
महक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वमरुद्रदामपौत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य
स्वामिरुद्रसिहपुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिरुद्रसेनस्य ।

इदं शात्यं मानससगोत्रस्य प्रताशकपुत्रस्य खरपार्थस्य भ्रातृभिः
उत्थावित स्वर्गं [सुखार्थं ?] ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

वर्षे १२७ भाद्रपदबहुलस्य ५ । राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य
स्वामिचष्टनस्य पुत्रप्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामिजयदाम्नः पुत्रपौत्रस्य
राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वामिरुद्रदाम्नः पौत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य
भद्रमुखस्य स्वामिरुद्रसिहस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिरुद्रसेनस्य

इदं शात्यं मानसगोत्रस्य प्रताशकपुत्रस्य खरपात्थस्य भ्रातृभिः उत्थापितं
स्वर्ग[सुखार्थम्] ॥

SUMMARY

On the fifth day in the dark fortnight in the month of Bhādrapada in the year 127 (in the reign) of king Mahākshatrapa Rudrasēna, the son of king Mahākshatrapa gentle-looking Rudrasimha¹, the grandson of king Mahākshatrapa gentle-looking Rudradāman¹, the grandson of the son of king Kshatrapa Jayadāman and the great-grandson of the son of King Mahākshatrapa gentle-looking Chashtana¹,

This memorial stone was erected for Kharapārtha, the son of Pratāsaka of the Mānasa gōtra for [bliss] in the heavens, by his brothers.

NOTE

1. Chashtana, Rudradāman and Rudrasimha only are described as *bhadra-mukha* which means 'gentle looking'. All the kings are called *svāmi*.

165. MYĀKADŌNI TANK INSCRIPTION OF SĀMBA

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 6 : A.D. 207
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Puḷumāvi
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock between the villages Myākadōni and Chinnakaḍabūru, Bellary District, Karnataka.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, (Revised), No. 90, p. 212.

TEXT

सिधं । रञ्जो सातवाहनानं सिरि पुलुमाविस सव ६^१ हेम २ दिव १
[सां*]मस महासेनापतिस खंदनाकस जनपदे सातवाहणिहारे गामिकस
कुमारदत्तस ग्रामे वेपुरके वथवेन गृहपतिकेन कौन्तानं संबेन तलाकं
खानितं ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः सातवाहनानां श्रीपुलुमावेः सम्बत्सरे ६ हेमन्तपक्षे
२ दिवसे १ स्वामिनः महासेनापतेः स्कन्दनागस्य जनपदे सातवाहनी-
याहारे ग्रामिकस्य कुमारदत्तस्य ग्रामे वेपुरके वास्तव्येन गृहपतिकेन
कौन्तानां साम्बेन तडाकः खानितः ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the first day in the second fortnight in the winter (season)
in the 6th regnal year of King Śrī **Puḷumāvi**² of the Sātavāhanas³

Sāmba of the Kaunta family, a householder residing at the village Vēpuraka⁴ of Kumāradatta, the headman (*grāmika*)⁵ in the Sātavāhani district (*āhāra*) in the country⁶ of Skandanāga, the great general (*mahāsēnāpati*) of the king, excavated [this] tank

NOTES

1. Wrongly read as 8 by both Sukthankar (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 155) and Sircar. This is correctly read by M. Jayarama Sharma in his paper on the Vāsana Inscription (No. 176) of Vāsishṭhiputra Siri Puḷumavi.

2. This king cannot be identified with his namesake, the successor of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi on account of palaeography. Sircar dates this inscription to 225 A.D.

3. Note this rare occurrence of the dynastic name and also the naming of the district.

4. Vēpūru is probably the same as Vēpārla in Haḍagalli Taluk in Bellary District.

5. This word has been read as *Gumika* for *Gaulmika* by Sukthankar (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 155) and interpreted as captain.

6. This country was probably bestowed on the general in lieu of his service.

166. NASIK INSCRIPTION OF VISHṆUDATTA

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 9 : c. 212 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Viṣṇudattā/Īśvarasēna
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ābhīra
<i>Location</i>	.. Cave No. 10 (Pāṇḍu-lēṇa hill), left wall, Nasik, Maharashtra.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Senart, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , VIII, pp. 88 ff. and plate.

TEXT

सिधं^१ । राज्ञः माढरीपुत्रस्य शिवदत्ताभीरपुत्रस्य आभीरस्येश्वर-
 सेनस्य संवत्सरे नवमे ६ [गि*]म्हपखे चोथे ४ दिवस त्रयोदश १० ३
 [एत*] या पुर्वया शकाग्निवर्मणः दुहित्रा गणपकरेभिलस्य भार्यया गणपकस्य
 विश्ववर्मस्य [मा*]त्ता शकनिकया उपासिकया विष्णुदत्तया सर्वसत्त्वहि-
 तसुखार्थं त्रिरश्मिपर्वतविहारवास्तव्यस्य चातुर्दिशस्य भिक्षुसंघस्य गिलान-
 भेषजार्थमक्षयनीवी प्रयुक्ता . व^२ [वास्त]व्यासु आगतानागतासु
 श्रेणिषु यतः कुलरिकश्रेण्या हस्ते कार्षापणसहस्रं १००० ओदयंत्रिकश्रेण्यां
 सहस्राणि द्वे २[०००] ण्यां शतानि पंच ५०० तिलपिषकश्रेण्यां
 एते च कार्षापणा चतालोपि तस्य मासवृद्धितो . . .

SUMMARY

Success!

On the 13th day in the 4th fortnight in the summer (season)
 in the 9th (regnal) year (in the reign) of Ābhīra Īśvarasēna, a
 Māḍhariputra and the son of Śivadatta-Ābhīra

Śakanikā (a woman of the Śaka race) Vishṇudattā, a lay devotee, the daughter of **Śaka Agnivarma**, the wife of Rēbhila, a chief of a group of men (or villages), and the mother of Viśvavarma (of similar status) made a perpetual endowment in the care of local guilds at Gōvardhana⁴

to provide medicines for the sick monks coming to the monastery at Triraśmi⁴ hill from different directions

One thousand *Kārshāpaṇas* invested with the guild of weavers (or potters); two thousand *kārshāpaṇas* with the guild of manufacturers of hydraulic machines, give hundred . . . in the guild of . . . in the guild of oil-millers

The monthly interest of . . . on all these four investments). . .

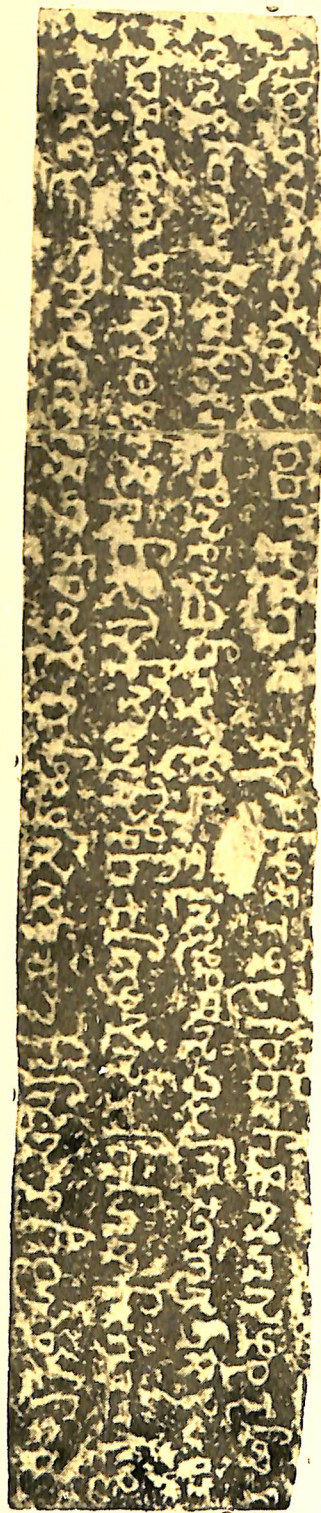
NOTES

1. Here and in some other places below, Prākṛit forms have been used. As they are easily intelligible, they have not been rendered in Sanskrit.

2. This portion is restored as Gōvardhana by Bühler (*Arch. Surv. W. India*, Vol. IV, No. 12, plate LIII).

3. Mirashi (*C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 3, note 18) traces the reading सर्व रक्षति विद्या after this passage on the basis of the plate given by Bühler.

4. Gōvardhana is identical with the modern village Gōvardhan-Gaṅgāpur on the right bank of the Godāvarī about 9 kms. west of Nasik. Triraśmi-hill is the same as Pāṇdu-lēṇa hill, where the cave with the inscription is situated.



No. 167

167. KARLE INSCRIPTION OF HARAPHARAṆA

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 24 : A.D. 225
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Vāsishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Second cell near the cave, wall, right of entrance, top, Karle, Poona District, Maharashtra
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Sel. Ins.</i> , I, Revised, No. 88, p. 210

TEXT

सिध । रञ्जो वासिठिपुतस सिरि पुलुमाविस सवछरे चतुविसे २० ४
हेमंतान पखे ततिये ३ दिवसे वितिये २ उपासकस हरफरणस सेतफरणपुतस
सोवसकस्य अबुलामाय वथवस्य इम देयधम मडपो नवगभ महासघियानं
परिग्रहो सधे चातुदिसे दिन मातापितुनं पुजा[ये*] सवसतानं हितसूध-
स्थतये । एकविसे सवछरे निठितो सहेत च मे पुन बुधरखितेन मातर चस्य
. उपासिकाय । बुधरखितस मातु देयधम पिठो अनो ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीपुलुमावेः संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे
२४ हेमन्तस्य पक्षे तृतीये ३ दिवसे द्वितीये २ उपासकस्य हर्षणस्य श्वेत-
पर्णपुत्रस्य सौवासिकस्य अम्बुरामायां वास्तव्यस्य अयं देयधर्मः मण्डपः
नवगर्भः महासाङ्घिकानां परिग्रहः सङ्घाय चातुर्दिशाय दत्तः मातापितोः

पूजायै, सर्वसत्त्वानां च हितसुखस्थितये । एकविंशे संवत्सरे निष्ठितः
सहितः च मे पुनः बुद्धरक्षितेन मात्रा च अस्य उपासिकया ।
बुद्धरक्षितस्य मातुः देयधर्मः पीठः अन्यः ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the second day in the third fortnight in the winter season in the 24th regnal year of king Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Puṣumāvi¹

This nine-celled hall was the pious gift by Harapharaṇa of Suvāsa², son of Sētapharaṇa and a lay devotee residing at Abumāla (Aṁburāmā) made over to the group of teachers of mahāsāṅghika school, in honour of his parents and for the welfare of all sentient beings.

This hall completed in the 21st regnal year³ was entrusted to me by Buddharakshita and his mother and

Another gift is a platform, by Buddharakshita's mother.

NOTES

1. The king, in spite of the metronymic, cannot be identified with his namesake, the successor of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (as done by Sircar) on account of palaeography.

2. The word *sōvasaka* (*sauvāsika*) in the original can be understood also as 'a dealer in perfumes' according to Sircar. Bühler (*A.S.W.I.*, Vol.IV, p.113) considers this as a reference to *Sauvarshaka* i.e. a member of the Suvarsha or the Kāśyapīya school, a branch of the Sarvāstivādins. The Suffix *pharaṇa* in both the names are Persian in origin.

3. No reason is given why the hall completed in the 21st year was made over only in the 24th year. It is possible that the nine cells were added by the donor to the hall during this period.

168. NĀNDSĀ YŪPA INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	.. Kṛita 282 : A.D. 226
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Śrī-Sōma
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Mālava
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone pillar in a lake, Nāndsā, Udaipur District, Rajasthan
<i>Reference</i>	.. Altekar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXVII, pp. 252-265 and plate.

TEXT

सिद्धम् । कृतयोर्द्वयोर्वर्षशतयोर्द्वर्चशीत्यधिकयोः¹ २०० ८० २ चैत्र-
पूर्णमास्यामस्याम्पूर्वायां महता स्वशक्तिगुणगुरुणो पौरुषेण प्रथमचन्द्रदर्श-
नमिव मालवगणविषयमवतारयित्वैकषण्ठिरात्रमतिसत्त्वमपरिमितधर्म-
मात्रं समुद्धृत्य पितृपैतामहीन्धुरमावृत्य सुविपुलं द्यावापृथिव्योरन्तरमनु-
त्तमेन यशसा स्वकर्मसंपदया विपुलां समुपगतामृद्धिमात्मसिद्धिं वितत्यं
मायामिव सत्त्वभूमौ सर्वकामौघधारां वसोद्धारामिव ब्राह्मणाग्निवैश्वानरेषु
हुत्वा बह्येन्द्रप्रजापतिमर्हषिविष्णुस्थानेषु कृतावकाशस्य पापनिरवकाशस्य
सितसभावसथतडाककूपदेवायतनयज्ञदानसत्यप्रजाविपुलपालनप्रसङ्ग-
पुराणराजर्षिधर्मपद्धतिसततकृतसमनुगमननिश्चयस्य स्वगुणातिशयवि-
स्तरैर्मनुनिर्विशेषमिव भुवि मनुष्यभावं याथार्थ्यमनुभवत इक्ष्वाकुप्रथितराज-
र्षिवंशे मालववंशे प्रसूतस्य जयनर्तनप्रभाववर्द्धनपौत्त्रस्य जयसोम पुत्त्रस्य
सोगिनेतुः श्रीसोमस्यानेकशतगोसहस्रदक्षिणा । वृषप्रमत्तशृङ्गविप्रघृष्ट-

चित्यवृक्षयूपसंकटतीरे पुष्करप्रतिलम्भभूते स्वधर्मसेतौ महातडाके यूप-
प्रतिष्ठा कृता ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the full-moon day (in the month of) Chaitra in (the year)
282 (of) Kṛita (era)²

King Śrī-Sōma, the leader of the Sogis³, son of Jayasōma and grandson of Prabhāvavardhana⁴, who provided for the (building or) maintenance of temples for Brahmā, Indra, Prajāpati,⁵ the sages and Viṣṇu; who is devoid of sin; who, by being interested, (a) in creating excellent halls, rest-houses, wells, tanks and temples and in performing sacrifices, b) in bestowing gifts, in practising truth and c) in complete protection of his subjects, is resolute in following always the path of piety shown by ancient royal sages; who experiences humaneness by his immense and wonderful qualities making Manu⁶ insignificant and who is born in the Mālava stock as famous as that of the Ikshvākus.⁷

Having created the State of Mālava tribe,⁸ equalling the sight of the first waxing Moon; having caused the great *Ēkashashṭirātra*⁹ sacrifice of unlimited merit to be performed; having preserved the structure (of administration) descended down from (his) father and grandfather, having covered the wide interspace between the sky and the earth with prosperity and personal power by his unequalled fame earned out of his own actions just as the universe is covered by illusion and having poured into the fires on the sacrificial ground the final continuous ghee offerings (to satisfy the desires of the sacrificer)¹⁰ and (into the hands of) the brāhmaṇas the ceaseless flow of (wealth) to satisfy all (their) desires, (gave) the fee of several hundreds of thousands of cows. The stone pillar was erected in the great tank, excavated by him as a pious act, which excels Pushkara¹¹, and the bank of which is full of pillars made of holy fig trees and (stone) pillars against which the bulls with full youthful vigour scratch their horns.¹²

NOTES

1. The original reads: शीतयो.
2. This is an era of Scytho-Parthian origin brought by the Mālavas from their original home in Jang district, Punjab to Rajasthan before the times of Śaka Kshatrapas. With the association of Vikramāditya (Chandragupta II A.D. 376-411) who conquered Mālava from the Śakas, the era began to be called Vikrama saṁvat beginning from B.C. 58 See No. 75, note 4.
3. Sogis were a sub-clan probably so called after their *gōtra* Saugi (*Gōtra-pravarānibandhakadamba*, Mysore Edition, p.177).
4. The editor of the record reads this name as Prabhāgravardhana.
5. Prajāpati is a divine person who presides over procreation.
6. Manu was one of the great ancestors of mankind and the author of an ancient text on law.
7. This is the name of an ancient royal family which ruled from Ayōdhya.
8. The Mālavas were migrating from one place to another and set up kingdoms wherever they settled and named it Mālava. The present record gives one such case [See *Mahābhārata* (Kumbhakonam edition), VI, 106, 6-7].
9. This is a big sacrifice performed for sixtyone days. The complete session consists of the following constituent sacrifices: *Prāyaṇīya* (1st day), *Chaturviṁśa* (2nd day), three *Abhiplava* sacrifices each for six days (3rd to 20th day), *Prishṭhya* for six days (21st to 26th day), *Navarātra* (27th to 35th day), *Pratilōma-Prishṭhya* (36th to 41st day), *Abhiplava* for six days (42nd to 47th day), *Āyu* (48th day), *Gau* (49th day), *Daśarātra* (50th to 59th day), *Mahāvratā* (60th day) and *Udāyaṇīya* (61st day). For more details see *Pañchaviṁśa-brāhmaṇa*, XXIV, 18; *Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra* 25, 18, 27-24; *Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa*, XXIV, 1-3; *Aitarēya-brāhmaṇa*, IV, 10-16; *Śāṅkhāyana-śrautasūtra*, IX, 22 etc.
10. For *vasōr-ddhārā* see *Tai. Saṁ*, V, 4.8.1.
11. This is modern Pushkar in Rajasthan.
12. A broken piece of stone in the same place contains a fragmentary record of the same period referring to *Mahāsēnāpati Bhaṭṭi-Sōma* of the Sōgi (clan), to his benefaction in a forest area functioning as a resort (*āśrama*) for penance and to a *kōṭi-tīrtha* in his country, for the progress of his family (*Ep. Ind.* XXVII, pp. 266-7 and plate).

169. STONE YŪPA INSCRIPTION FROM BARNĀLA

<i>Date</i>	.. Kṛita 284 : A.D. 228
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i> Varddhana
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Barnāla (now in the State Museum, Jaipur) Rajasthan
<i>Reference</i>	.. Altekar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXVI, pp. 119-20 and plate

TEXT

सिद्धम् । कृतेहि २०० ८० ४ चैत्रशुक्लपक्षस्य पंचदशी सोहर्तृ-
सगोत्रस्य राजो . . . पुत्रस्य राज्ञो . . . वर्द्धनस्य यूप सत्तको पुष्णं¹

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् । कृतैः २८४ चैत्रशुक्लपक्षस्य पञ्चदश्यां सोहर्तृसगोत्रस्य
राज्ञः पुत्रस्य राज्ञः वर्द्धनस्य यूपसप्तकम् [पुण्यवर्द्धकं
भवतु] ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the 15th (full-moon) day in the month of Chaitra in the
Kṛita year 284

[This is] the group of seven sacrificial pillars² of king . . . vard-
dhana, son of king . . . of Sōhartṛi-gōtra³

May merit increase (for all) ⁴!

NOTES

1. This passage is restored as पुण्णं वर्द्धताम् by B.Ch. Chhabra.
 2. See No.168 above, note 9.
 3. This occurs among the *gōtras* of the *Bhāradvājakaṇḍa* having the option of three or five *pravaras* (*Gōtrapravarānibandhakadamba*, second edition, p.56).
 4. For another Yūpa inscription from the same place see No.191.
-

170. INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA-SĀTAKARṆI

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 6=c. A.D. 230-231
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Vijaya-Sātakarṇi
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh, Pedestal.
<i>Reference</i>	.. H. Sarkar, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XXXVI, pp. 273-74 and plate

TEXT

नमो भगवतो अगपोगलस । रज्रो गोतमिपुत्रस सिरिविजयसातक-
णिस सव ६ गि प ४ दिव वेसाख पुनिम [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITISED

नमो भगवते अग्रपुद्गलाय । राज्ञः गौतमीपुत्रस्य श्रीविजयसातकर्णेः
संवत्सरे ६ ग्रीष्मपक्षे ४ दिवसे वैशाखपूर्णिमायां [कारितम् इदम्] ॥

SUMMARY

Salutation to the Supreme Agapogala¹

On the full-moon day (in the month) of Vaiśākha in the 4th fortnight in the summer (season)² in the 6th (regnal) year³ of king Gautamiputra Vijaya⁴ Śātakarṇi

[This was done]

NOTES

1. Agapogala (or Agrapudgala i.e. 'Agrapurusha' 'the best among men'— in Sanskrit) is one of the epithets of Buddha.
 2. These details show that the summer season began on the first day in the dark fortnight in the month of Chaitra and that the month ended with full-moon day (see No. 92 above). It is significant that this date was the date of Buddha's birth as well as nirvana.
 3. D.C. Sircar assigns this inscription to 213-14 A.D. on the basis of an assumption that the city was founded in the cyclic year Vijaya (*Sel.Ins.* I, p.521).
 4. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in Andhra Pradesh was called Vijayapurī (see No. 193 below) evidently named after this king.
-

171. COPING STONE INSCRIPTION OF SIDDHI

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 232 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Siddhi
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Slab excavated at Amarāvati, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. Burgess and Hultzsch, <i>ASSI</i> , I, p. 85, No. 30 and plate.

TEXT

सिद्धं नमो भगवतो विजयपुरवथवस छदस बालिकाय वणिगिणिय
सिद्धिय उनिस पतिथवितं

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमो भगवते । विजयपुरवास्तव्यस्य छन्दस्य बालिकया
वाणिकिन्या सिद्ध्या उष्णीषं प्रतिष्ठापितम् ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

Adoration to the Supreme (Buddha)!

(This is) the coping stone¹ (on the plinth) set up by Siddhi, a merchant's wife, the daughter of Chhanda, a resident of Vijayapura.²

NOTES

1. See No.142, note 1.

2. This is evidently modern Nāgārjunakoṇḍa which was so named after Vijaya-Sātakarṇi who founded the city (see No. 170 above). See Nos. 185, 193, 199 etc for the mention of this place.

172. INSCRIPTION OF VISHṆUKAḌA CHUṬUKULĀNANDA SĀTAKARṆI

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 1 : c. A.D. 235
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Vishṇukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda-Sātakarṇi
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Chuṭu-Sātakarṇi
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar in front of the Kallēśvara temple, Maḷavalli, Shimoga District, Karnataka.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Lewis Rice, <i>Ep.Carn.</i> , VII, pp.251-2, No. 263 and plate.

TEXT

सिद्धम्^१ । जयति भगवान् ^२मलपल्लिदेवो । वैजयन्तीपुरराजा
मानव्यसगोत्तो हारितीपुत्तो विण्णुकड्चुटुकुलानन्दसातकर्णी आणपयति
महावलभं रज्जुकम् आयुधनवद्धतीच्छं भगवतोषपटीयसीम् सुखान्वयं
गामाहारसहलाटवीं मलपलिं^२ देवभोगं महिसुराणं ठाणम्मात्मरच्छाय
सव्वपरिहारेण वीतराम^३ अभटप्पवेसं संसिद्धिकम् एवं उचितं सव्वपरि-
हारेण तकिञ्चीपुत्ताय वहादेज्जं दिण्णम् कोण्डिन्यसगोत्ताय हारितीपुत्ताय
कोण्डमाणाय इव्वद्वत्ति वितीय गिम्ह पक्खं पडमदिवसं पडमसंमच्छरम्
... न्दिण्णं ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ जयति भगवान् मलपल्लिदेवः । वैजयन्तीपुरराजा-
मानव्यसगोत्रः हारितीपुत्रः विण्णुकड्चुटुकुलानन्दसातकर्णिः आज्ञापयति

महावल्लभं रज्जुकम् आयुर्धनवर्द्धतीच्छया भगवत्तोषपटीयसीं सुखान्वितां
ग्रामाहारे सहलाटवीम् मलपल्लिदेवभोगं महीसुराणां स्थानं आत्मरक्षायै
सर्वपरिहारेण वितरामः अभटप्रवेश्यं संसिद्धिकम् । एवम् उचितं सर्व-
परिहारेण तकिञ्चीपुत्राय ब्रह्मदेयं दत्तं कौण्डिन्यसगोत्राय हारितीपुत्राय
कोण्डमाणाय । इयं दत्तिः द्वितीये ग्रीष्मपक्षे प्रथमदिवसे प्रथमसंवत्सरे
. दत्तम् ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

Victorious is the supreme deity of Maḷapallī⁴

Vishṇukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda-Sātakarṇi,⁵ the lord of the city of Vaijayanti⁶, belonging to the spiritual lineage of Mānavya and a son of a lady belonging to the spiritual lineage of Harita, orders Mahāvallabha, the Rajjuka:⁷

We have given, for the increase of our life and wealth and for security of ourselves, the village Maḷapallī in the midst of pleasant villages, a residence of brāhmaṇas for the enjoyment of the deity (*dēvabhōga*) of Maḷapallī, along with cultivable and forest land (*sahalāṭavī*) ensured against the entry of officials and along with the entire income (*sa-siddhikam*)⁸

Thus this *brahmadēya*⁹ is entrusted to Koṇḍamāṇa of Takiñchi, a son of Hārītī and belonging to the spiritual lineage of Kauṇḍinya along with all suitable exemptions.

This grant is made on the first day in the second fortnight of the summer (season) in the first year . . .

NOTES

1. Written in letters and not by a symbol as in most other cases.
2. read wrongly as Maṭṭapaṭṭī.
3. read wrongly as Vitarāsam by Rice. Cf. No. 130 above for the reading given here.

172. INSCRIPTION OF VISHṆUKAḌA CHUṬUKULĀNANDA SĀTAKAṆṢI 367

4. Maḷapaḷḷi is the same as Maḷavaḷḷi.
5. No connected genealogy of this and one other king called Vishṇurudra-śivalānanda-Sātakarṇi (see No. 174) is possible in the present state of our knowledge.
6. Vaijyantī is another ancient name of Banavāsi in North Kannaḍa District in Karnāṭaka.
7. See No. 7, above, note, 3.
8. Mirashi (*HISWS*, p.89) interprets this passage to mean that the name of the village is Sahalāṭavi and the right bestowed is that of settling the disputes.
9. *Brahmadēya* is the name of a tenure under which Vēdic scholars are granted the right of enjoying the specified village.

173. BAḌVĀ PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS

<i>Date</i>	.. Kṛita 295 : 238 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Balavardhana, Sōmadēva and Balasimha, sons of Mahāsēnāpati Balaputra
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Maukhari
<i>Location</i>	.. Three stone pillars, Baḍvā, Kota District, Rajasthan.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Altekar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXIII, p. 52 and plate.

TEXT

1

सिद्धम् । कृतैः २०० ६० ५ फाल्गुनशुक्लस्य पञ्चमे^१ दि०-
श्रीमहासेनापतेः मौखरेः बलपुत्रस्य^२ बलवर्द्धनस्य यूपः । त्रिरात्रसंमितस्य
दक्षिण्यं गवां सहस्रम् १००० ॥

2

सिद्धम् । कृतैः २०० ६० ५ फाल्गुनशुक्लस्य पञ्चमे दि० श्रीमहा-
सेनापतेः मौखरेः बलपुत्रस्य^२ सोमदेवस्य यूपः । त्रिरात्रसंमितस्य दक्षिण्यं
गवां सहस्रम् १००० ॥

3

कृतैः २०० ६० ५ फाल्गुनशुक्लस्य पञ्चमे दि० श्रीमहासेनापतेः
मौखरेर्बलपुत्रस्य^२ बलसिंहस्य यूपः । त्रिरात्रसंमितस्य दक्षिण्यं गवां सहस्रम्
१००० ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the fifth day of the bright fortnight in the month of Phālguna in Kṛita year 295

This is the pillar (*yūpa*)³ erected by Balavarddhana, Sōma-dēva and Balasimha, the sons of Maukhari⁴ Bala, a great commander (*mahāsēnāpati*). The sacrificial fee (*dakṣhiṇā*) made on the occasion of a sacrifice was one thousand cows by each of the three persons, as laid down for the *trirātra* sacrifice⁵.

NOTES

1. कृते हि, फल्गुण and पञ्चे respectively in original.
2. Read बलस्य पुत्रस्य
3. *Yūpa* made out of prescribed wood such as Khādira, Audumbara, Bilva, etc., is a post to which the animal to be sacrificed is tied. These three persons evidently erected each a stone pillar on the same date in memory of the original wooden pillars which alone they must have used for the sacrifices.
4. This clan established a kingdom of their own from about the 6th century A.D., for a short span of time in Ancient Bihar.
5. A sacrifice (*Yajña*) performed for 3 nights (or days) for the consummation of the soul with the three worlds (*bhūh, bhuvah* and *svah*) (*Taittiriya-saṁhitā*, 7. 2, 4-2). The offering was evidently made to the brāhmaṇas.

174. KOḌAVALI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF CHAṆḌASĀTI

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 11 : A.D. c. 240-228
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Chaṇḍasāti
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock-cut well near a mound, north wall, Koḍavali, West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh.
<i>Reference</i>	.. H. Krishna Sastri, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XVIII, pp. 316 ff. and plate.

TEXT

सिधं । रजो वासिठीपुतस सामि सिरि चंडसातिस^१ रजि वछरे^२
 १० १ हे प २ दि १ खड्डुवलि अमच ससमि खगु^३ धम ठापित ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् । राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य स्वामि श्री चण्डसातेः^१ [सातकर्णेः]
 राज्यवत्सरे^२ ११ हेमन्ते पक्षे २ दिवसे १ खड्डुवलि अमात्य शशेन
 खंगु^३ धर्मः स्थापितः ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the 1st day in the 2nd fortnight in the 11th year in the reign
 of lord Śrī Chaṇḍasāti (Sātakarṇi)

[This] charity⁴ was established by Minister Śāśa of KhaḢ-
Ḣavali⁵

NOTES

1. Though स in Prakrit may be rendered as स्वा in Sanskrit as found in some of the *Purāṇas*, स is better on account of the fact that this king's coins have only the three forms: Sāta, Sāti and Sātakaṇi.

2. Mirashi (*HISWK*, p. 84) has read this as 10+1, while Krishna Sastri reads 2 at the end of the previous line, which will go out of the alignment of the record.

3. The meaning of the word is not clear.

4. The nature of the charity is not clear. It may be the excavation of the well supplying water possibly to the monastic complex now covered by the mound in the locality.

5. This is the same as KoḢavali, the findspot of the inscription.

174. KODAVALI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF CHAṆḌASĀTĪ

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 11 : A.D. c. 240-228
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Chaṇḍasāti
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Rock-cut well near a mound, north wall, Koḍavali, West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh.
<i>Reference</i>	.. H. Krishna Sastri, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XVIII, pp. 316 ff. and plate.

TEXT

सिद्धं । रजो वासिठीपुतस सामि सिरि चंडसातिस^१ रजि वछरे^२
१० १ हे प २ दि १ खड्डुवलि अमच ससमि खगु^३ धम ठापित ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् । राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य स्वामि श्री चण्डसातेः^१ [सातकर्णेः]
राज्यवत्सरे^२ ११ हेमन्ते पक्षे २ दिवसे १ खड्डुवलि अमात्य शशेन
खगु^३ धर्मः स्थापितः ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the 1st day in the 2nd fortnight in the 11th year in the reign
of lord Śrī Chaṇḍasāti (Sātakarṇi)

[This] charity⁴ was established by Minister Śāśa of Khaḑ-
ḑavali⁵

NOTES

1. Though सऱ in Prakrit may be rendered as स्वा in Sanskrit as found in some of the *Purāṇas*, सऱ is better on account of the fact that this king's coins have only the three forms: Sāta, Sāti and Sātakaṇi.

2. Mirashi (*HISWK*, p. 84) has read this as 10+1, while Krishna Sastri reads 2 at the end of the previous line, which will go out of the alignment of the record.

3. The meaning of the word is not clear.

4. The nature of the charity is not clear. It may be the excavation of the well supplying water possibly to the monastic complex now covered by the mound in the locality.

5. This is the same as Koḑavali, the findspot of the inscription.

175. NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA INSCRIPTION OF ĀBHĪRA VASUSHĒṆA

<i>Date</i>	.. Year 30 : 242 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit and Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Śivasēba/Vasushēṇa
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ābhīra
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone slab in the site of a maṇḍapa on the bank of the river Kṛishṇā, Nāgārjuna-koṇḍa Museum, Guntur District, A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXIV, pp. 202 ff. and plate.

TEXT

Metres: Verse 1 Upajati

सीद्धं¹ ॥ नमो भगवतो देवपरमदेवस्य नारायणस्य² । रञ्जो वासेष्ठी-
पुत्रस्य आभीरस्य वसुषेणस्य संवत्सर [३०] वा प [३] दिवस १
महाग्रामिकेन महातलवरेण महादण्डनायकन कौशिकसगोत्रेन पेरिविडेहाणां
शिवसेवेन संजयपुरीतो यो[न*]राजिभि आवन्तकेन शकेन रुद्रदामेन
वानवासकेन च विष्णुरुद्रशिवलानन्द[सात]कर्णना स्थाना(न)तोऽपि न
चालितो एष भगवांस्वरभवो आष्टं[भु*]जस्वामि सेडगिरिय स्थापितो[१*]
पर्वतस्य च प्राकारो चितापितो [१*] वापी च महानंदा सोधिता [१*]
तडागानि च २ सेडगिरियं मुडेराय च खानितानि [१*] तलवनानि
च रोपितानि [१*] यो च ब्राह्मणार्थे मित्रार्थे च प्राणमपि न परिक्षति
गुणतश्च—

सर्वातिथिः सर्वसखः कृतज्ञः

सत्यव्रत शत्रुगणावमर्दि ।

रजु[र्वट]न्यासनप्रेमनिष्ठो

यो [धा*]र्मिक साधुजनाभिनन्दि । [।*]

[उल्लेखग]श्चास्य सेंवक वर्धमान[को] ।

भरद्वाजसगोत्रेण अमात्येन तिष्यशर्मण भगवद्भक्त्या च कृतं ।
स्वस्ति गोब्रातेभ्यः ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमो भगवते देवपरमदेवाय पुराणपुरुषाय नारायणाय ।
राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य आभीरस्य वसुषेणस्य संवत्सरे ३० (त्रिंशे)
वर्षपिक्षे ३ (तृतीये) दिवसे १ (प्रथमे) महाग्रामिकेण महातलवरेण
महादण्डनायकेन कौशिकसगोत्रेण पेरिविडेहानां शिवशेबेन सञ्जयपुरीतः
यवनराजैः आवन्तिकेन रुद्रदाम्ना वानवासकेन च विष्णुरुद्रशिवलानन्दसा-
तकर्णिना स्थानतोऽपि न चालितः एष भगवान् उदुम्बरभवः अष्टभुज-
स्वामी शेटगिरौ स्थापितः, पर्वतस्य च प्राकारः चित्रितः, वापी च महानन्दा
शोधिता, तडागे च २ शेटगिरौ मुडेरायां च खानिते, तालवनानि च
रोपितानि । यश्च ब्राह्मणार्थे मित्रार्थे च प्राणमपि न परीक्षते गुणतश्च-

सर्वातिथिः सर्वसखः कृतज्ञः सत्यव्रतः शत्रुगणावमर्दी ।

ऋजुर्वटन्यासनप्रेमनिष्ठो यो धार्मिकः साधुजनाभिनन्दी ॥ १ ॥

उल्लेखकश्चास्य (स एव) सेंवकवर्धमानकः । भारद्वाजसगोत्रेण
अमात्येन तिष्यशर्मणा भगवद्भक्त्या कृतम् । स्वस्ति गोब्रातेभ्यः ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

Salutation to the Supreme god of gods, the Primordial being
Nārāyaṇa

[On] the 1st day in the 7th fortnight of the rainy season in the
year 30 in the reign of Vāsishṭhīputra Ābhīra Vasushēṇa

The supreme being, the eight-handed lord, present in the Audumbara piece³, was installed on the Śvētagiri, by Śivasēba⁴ of the Periviḍēha (clan) of the Kauśika lineage, the *mahāgrāmika*⁵, the great chief and the great commander.

This image was not re-set though, it was in its original place (but not well kept), by the Yavana chiefs of Sañjayapura⁶, the Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti⁷ and Viṣṇu-Rudra-Śivalānanda-Śātakarṇi of Vanavāsa⁸ (who visited this place earlier).

The enclosure on the hill was embellished; the well Mahānandā was repaired; two tanks were excavated on the hill at Muḍērā; groves of palmyra trees were planted.

(Śivasēba is one) who would not spare even his life in the cause of Brāhmaṇas and friends⁹

Sēmbaka Vardhamānaka was the engraver of record. Minister Tishyaśarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* composed this record out of devotion to the Supreme.

May there be good to the herds of cows!

NOTES

1. Written in the margin between the first two lines.
2. The words have been separated from one another by space.
3. The *Viṣṇu-Sahasranāma* gives Udumbara as one of the names of Viṣṇu thus suggesting the identity of this deity with Nārāyaṇa referred to in the invocation at the beginning of the record. Udumbara from which Audumbara is derived, is *Ficus Glomerata*.
4. This is comparable to Sēsēba in No. 203 below.
5. Probably the head of a group of villages.
6. Sañjayapura is probably Sanjan in the Thana District, Maharashtra.
7. Avanti was the name of a country of which Ujjain was the capital.
8. Vanavāsa is Banavāsi in Sirsi Taluk, North Kanara District in Karnataka. They were not contemporaries of Ābhīra, as Sircar and Sankaranarayanan *JAIH*, XV, pp. 164-193) have considered them.
9. This passage is followed by a verse describing his virtues such as gratefulness, truthfulness, valour, straightforward nature etc.

176. CONCH-SHELL INSCRIPTION OF
ASHTABHUJASVĀMIN

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 242 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Not known
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Conch-shell ¹ found in the Ashta- bhujasvāmin temple site, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Museum, Guntur Dist., A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Archaeological Survey of India, <i>Indian Archaeology</i> , 1958-59, A. Review, p. 8 and plate

TEXT

भगवतो अठभुज समिस ।

भगवतो अष्टभुजस्वामिनः ॥ (in Sanskrit)

SUMMARY

[This] conch-shell belongs to the Supreme Ashtabhujas-
vāmin²

NOTES

1. The shell bears, to the left of the inscription, a representation of an eight-arc disc (*chakra* — *Sudarśana*, one of the five weapons of god Vishnu) with outwardly protruding points on the outer concentric circle, mounted on the abacus of a small pillar and another, of a flagstaff, both shown to be on a pedestal architecturally designed (see plate, op.cit.).

2. Another conch shell discovered at the same site bears the name, *Uchchīta Kanasara* (Uchchhrita Karnaśāra), probably of the donor of the same object.

177. VĀSANĀ INSCRIPTION OF CHAṆḌAŚIVA TEMPLE

<i>Date</i>	.. c. A.D. 245
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Puḷumāvi
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar on a mound, Vāsanā, Dharwar District, Karnataka
<i>Reference</i>	.. M. J. Sharma, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XLI, p. 154 and plate

TEXT

... हण रजो वासठीपुतस सिरि पुलुमाविस वायतण
वासिस महादेवस चंडसिवस सलवढकिस ते ति¹ ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

[श्रीसातवा]हनराजस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीपुलुमावेः
देवायतनवासिनः महादेवस्य चण्डशिवस्य सलवर्द्धकेः [कृ]ता
इति ॥

SUMMARY

On in the reign of king Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi of the Sātavāhana family.

This pillar was made (and donated) by the carpenter . . . to the great god Chaṇḍaśiva² residing in the temple. . .

NOTES

1. The word 'सर्पराजनु' is engraved below in characters of about the 6th century A.D.

2. This name Chaṇḍaśiva suggests that the deity was probably named after Chaṇḍa-Sātakarṇi (No. 174), the predecessor of Puḷumāvi.

Handwritten text in a dark, textured script, possibly a historical or religious manuscript. The text is written in a cursive style and is oriented vertically on the page.

178. BANAVĀSĪ TABLET INSCRIPTION OF SIVASIRI PUḶUMĀVI

<i>Date</i>	.. c. A.D. 245
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. [Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi]
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Sātavāhana
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone excavated near the Madhukēśvara temple, Banavāsi, North Kanara District, Karnataka.
<i>Reference</i>	.. A. V. Narasimhamurthy in <i>Studies in Indian Epigraphy (JESI)</i> , I, pp. 8 ff. and plate

TEXT

सिधं रजो वासिठीपुतस सिवसिरि पुलुमाविस महादेविय छा
पथरो ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य शिवश्रीपुलुमावेः महादेव्याः
छायाप्रस्तरः ।

SUMMARY

Success!

[This is] the memorial stone (tablet)¹ of the queen of king
Vāsishthīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi²

NOTES

1. The stone is artistically carved with a pointed tip at the bottom apparently intended to be fixed into a socket. There is a sketch of a religious structure like a *stūpa* at the top of the stone.

2. As in the case of Yajña Sātakarṇi (No. 156, note 1), in this case also the word Śivaśrī might have been inserted to distinguish him from his earlier namesake Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi (No. 137) with whom the editor of the record identifies the king of this record.

179. REṆṬĀLA INSCRIPTION OF CHANTAMŪLA

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 5 ¹ : Circa 248 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Chuṭidhārasiri/ <i>Chantamūla</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar, Reṇṭāla, Palnad Taluk, Guntur Dist., A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. S. Sankaranarayanan, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXVII, pp. 29-32, plate.

TEXT

सिध । नमो भगवतो । रंजो वसे . . . सिरिचंतमुलस विजयसंवछरं पचमं ५ वासाणं पखं पधमं १ दिवसं पधमं [१] । नकरे गंजिकूटे वथवस वणिजक[स*] संधिलस भरिय[य] च वणिजकिनिय हंघय पुतेन वणिजकेन चुटिधारसिरीण सभरियकेण सधुतुकेन ससुंह वी(नि)वहेन समितनतुके[न] [स]पचचतुंहि अपणो आयुवधनिकं विजयवेजयिकं च गमे तुव[रे] विहारमंडले उपेदगिरिवध गवतो बुधस संघस डवे सेलामयो आयकखभो कारितो ति^२ ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् । नमो भगवते । राज्ञो वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीचन्तमूलस्य विजयसंवत्सरे पञ्चमे ५ वर्षाणां पक्षे प्रथमे १ दिवसे प्रथमे १ । नगरे गञ्जिकूटे वास्तव्यस्य वणिजकस्य संधिलस्य भार्यायाश्च वणिजकान्याः संघायाः पुत्रेण वणिजकेन चुडाधारश्रिया सभार्येण सद्गुहितुकेन सस्तुषा-निवहेन समितनप्तुकेन सह पञ्चचतुर्भिः आत्मनः आयुर्वर्धनिकः विजय-वेजयिकः च ग्रामे तुवरे विहारमण्डले उपेन्द्रगिरिवर्धमाने भगवतो बुद्धस्य संघस्य मण्डपे शैलमयः आयकस्कंभ कारितः इति^२ ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

Obeisance to the Supreme³

On the first day of the first fortnight of the rainy season in the successful fifth regnal year of king Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Chantamūla⁴

(This) entrance pillar in stone was made (and set up) in the hall of the convention of the Supreme Buddha³ in the Upēndragiri-varddhamāna in the campus of the . . . monastery at the village Tuvāra⁵

By Chuṭidhārasiri (Chūḍādhāraśrī), the son of Saṅghila and Haṅghā (Saṅghā) of the merchant community residing at the town of Gaṇjikūṭa, along with his wife, daughter, daughters-in-law, friends, grandsons etc., for his own longevity and continued success.

NOTES

1. There is another inscription of this king from Kēsānapalli in Guntur District, dated in the regnal year 13 extending his reign at least upto the 13th year. It records the contribution of a similar pillar by two merchants for a memorial shrine for the benefit of the monks of the Bahuśrutiya school (Sankaranarayanan, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVIII, p. 313 and plate).

2. This expression, meaning "it is recorded thus", generally met with in this and most other inscriptions from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa implies that the statements made in the record are impersonal and we do not meet with a direct statement that 'I make the gift' etc., as we see in later records of the south from the 4th century onwards.

3. This is obviously a reference to the Buddha. See below No. 182 for the reference to him.

4. This king belongs to the family of Ikshvākus (Ikshvāku- the name of the first king of the Solar dynasty of Ayōdhyā). He ruled for at least 13 years. See note 1 above. His successors were: Māṭharīputra Virapurushadatta (20 years), his son Ehuvala Chantamūla (24 years) and his son Vāsishṭhīputra Rudrapurushadatta (11 years). The entire dynasty might have ruled from 243 A.D. to about 320 A.D. Their territory did not extend much beyond the Nāgārjunikonda valley now submerged under the Nagarjunasagar reservoir.

5. This is identified with Reṇṭāla, the findspot.

180. MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION FOR CHANTAMŪLA

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 1 : c. 257 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Anantaśrī and others/Vīrapurushadatta
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar with panels of carvings, Nāgārjuna-koṇḍa (Museum), Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXV, p. 3, No. 1A and plate.

TEXT

सिधं ॥ महाराजस असमेधयाजिस अनेकहिरणकोटिपदायिस
सिरिचंतमूलस पुतस रंजो माढरिपुतस इखाकुन सिरिविरपुरिसदतस वस-
सताय सवछरं विजयं वासपखं प्रथमं १ दिवस वितियं सगगतस रंजो
अगिहोतागिठोमवाजपेयसमेधयाजिस हिरणकोटिगोसतसहस-हलसतसहस-
पदायिस सवथेसु अपतिहतसंकपस वासिठिपुतस इखाकुस सामि सिरि-
चंतमूलस सह(हो)दराहि मताहि महदेविहि अनतसिरिय खंदसिरिय
विज्ञबोधिसिरिय मितसिरिय समुदसिरिय नागवसुसिरिय मंगुसिरिय
खंदकोटिसिरिय महिसरसिरिय कोन्दमतिसिरिय मुलसिरिय अयकोटु-
सिरिय मदुविसिरिय । नागसिरिय कामसिरिय गोलसिरिय खलिसिरिय
बोधिसिरिय खदसिरिय सतिलसिरिय पेरजतिसिरिय पंडितसिरिय
सिवनागसिरिय समुदसिरिय । बापिसिरिय नदिसिरिय अयसिरिय

कन्हसिरिय सिवनागसिरिय अभतरिकाहि च सरसिकाय कुसुमलताय च
छायाथभो ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य अश्वमेधयाजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटिप्रदायिनः
श्रीचन्तमूलस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः माठरीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य
वर्षशताय संवत्सरे विजये वर्षापक्षे प्रथमे १ दिवसे द्वितीये स्वर्गगतस्य
राज्ञः अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमवाजपेयाश्वमेधयाजिनः हिरण्यकोटिगोशतसहस्र-
हलशतसहस्रप्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहतसङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य
ऐक्ष्वाकोः स्वामिश्रीचन्तमूलस्य सहोदराभिः मातृभिः महादेवीभिः
अनन्तश्रिया स्कन्दश्रिया विन्ध्यबोधिश्रिया मित्रश्रिया समुद्रश्रिया
नागवसुश्रिया मंगुश्रिया स्कन्दकोटिश्रिया महीसारश्रिया कुन्दमतिश्रिया
मूलश्रिया आर्यकोटिश्रिया मृद्वीश्रिया-नागश्रिया कामश्रिया गोलश्रिया
खलिश्रिया बोधिश्रिया स्कन्दश्रिया सतिलश्रिया पेरुजातीश्रिया पण्डित-
श्रिया शिवनागश्रिया समुद्रश्रिया-वप्पीश्रिया नदीश्रिया आर्यश्रिया कृष्ण-
श्रिया शिवनागश्रिया आभ्यन्तारिकाभ्यां च सरसिकया कुसुमलतया च
छायास्तम्भः [समुत्थापितः] ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the second day in the first fortnight in the rainy season in the first victorious regnal year¹ of Māṭharīputra Śrī Vīrapurīśadatta (Vīrapurushadatta) of the Ikshvāku (family)

[This] memorial pillar² [was set up] by the sisters, mothers and the queens³ of the late king Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Chantamūla of the Ikshvāku family who had performed Agnihōtra, Agnisṭōma, Vājapēya and Aśvamēdha sacrifices; who had gifted away lakhs of gold (pieces), lakhs of cows and lakhs of (*hala*) measures of land, with unimpeded intent on all matters⁴.

NOTES

1. The numeral 1 in respect of the regnal year has been introduced (*Inscriptions of the Ikshvāku period* by P. R. Srinivasan, and S. Sankaranarayanan, Epigraphical series, No. 14, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, 1979, page 8, No. 3). It is natural that soon after the accession of the king the memorial pillar for his father was raised. Vogel read the expression *vijayam* as *Vinśakam* meaning twenty (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 63-64, inscription L). Apart from the reading it is incongruous to say that the pillar had to wait until the 20th year of the king's reign. Sircar read this as *vijayam* holding it to stand for the year Vijaya of the Jovian sixty year cycle. The use of that cycle was much later (about the fifth century A.D.) and it is very unlikely that it is used in this inscription. See also No. 195 below.

2. The pillar bears five panels of sculptures in bas-relief one below the other. The topmost one depicts a domed structure. The next panel shows a corpulent royal personage seated and flanked by two ladies on either side. The third seems to be a music performance being enjoyed by him in the company of a lady. The fourth shows him riding on an elephant. The last panel depicts him as performing a ceremonious donation in the midst of an assembly.

3. A small punctuation mark, as pointed out by Sircar, seems to separate the list of these ladies whose names end in *siri* (śrī). Two other female inmates of the harem are also mentioned at the end without the suffix *siri* denoting lower status. The names of the sisters, mothers and queens were respectively: Anantaśrī, Skandaśrī, Vindhyabōdhiśrī, Mitraśrī, Samudraśrī, Nāgavasūśrī, Manguśrī, Skandakōṭiśrī, Mahīsāraśrī, Kundamatiśrī, Mūlaśrī, Āryakōṭiśrī and Mṛidviśrī; Nāgaśrī, Kāmaśrī (or Rāmaśrī), Gōlaśrī, Khaliśrī, Bōdhiśrī, Śkandaśrī, Satilaśrī, Peruḷatiśrī, Paṇḍitaśrī, Śivanāgaśrī and Samudraśrī; Bappiśrī, Nadiśrī (or Nandiśrī), Āryaśrī, Kṛishṇaśrī and Śivanāgaśrī. The last two names are Sarasikā and Kusumalatā.

4. These descriptive epithets of Chantamūla are found only in the posthumous references in this and the following numbers.

181. MAHĀCHAITYA INSCRIPTION OF CHĀNTISĪRĪ AND ĀNANDA

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 6 : c. 262 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Chāntisīrī and Ānanda/Vīrapurushadatta
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar found on the west side of the Mahāchaitya, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Museum), Guntur District, A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Vogel <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XX, p. 17, C-1 and plate

TEXT

सिधं । नमो भगवतो देवराजसकतस संमसंबुधस धातुवरपरिगहितस ।
महाचेतिये महाराजस विरुषखपतिमहासेनपरिगहितस अगिहोतागिठो[म
वा]जपेयासमेधयाजिस हिरणकोटिगोसतसहसहलसतसहसपदायिस सवथसु
अपतिहतसंकपस वासिठीपुतस इखाकुस सिरि चातमूलस सोदरा भगिनि
रंज्रो सिरि विरपुरिसदतस पितुछा महासेनापतिस महातलवरस वासिठी-
पुतस पूकियानं कंदसिरिस भरिया समणवम्हणकवणवणिजकदीनानुगह-
वेलमिकदानपरिभागवोछिनधरपदायिनी सवसाधुवछला महातलवरि
खंदसागरंणकमाता चातिसिरि अपनो उभयकुलपरिनामेतुनं अतने च
निवाणसंपतिसंपादके इमं खंभं सवलोकहितसुखावहथनाय च पतिठपिता
ति । आचरियानं अपरमहाविनसेलियानं सुपरिगहितं इमं महाचेतियनव-
कंमं पणगामवथवानं दीघमझिमपंचमातुकदेसकवाचकानं आचरियानं

अयिरहंधानं अंतेवासिकेन दीर्घमञ्जिमनिकायधरेन भजंतानदेन निश्चितं
इमं नवकर्म महाचैतियं खंभा च ठापिता ति । रंओ सिरि विरपुरिसदतस
सव ६ व प ६ दिव १० ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमो भगवते देवराजसत्कृताय सम्यक्सम्बुद्धाय धातु-
वरपरिगृहीताय । महाचैत्ये महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपतिमहासेनपरिगृही-
तस्य अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमवाजपेयाश्वमेधयाजिनः हिरण्यकोटिगोशतसहस्र-
हलशतसहस्रप्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहतसङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य ऐक्ष्वा-
कोः श्रीचन्तमूलस्य सोदरा भागिनी राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य पितृष्वसा
महासेनापतेः महातलवरस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य पूकीयानां स्कन्दश्रियः भार्या
श्रमणब्राह्मणकृपणवनीयकदीनानुग्रह्वेलामिकदानप्रतिभागाविच्छिन्नधारा -
प्रदायिनी सर्वसाधुवत्सला महातलवरी स्कन्दसागरंणकमाता चातिश्रीः
आत्मनः उभयकुलं परिणमय्य आत्मनः च निर्वाणसम्पत्तिसम्पादकं इमं
स्कन्धं सर्वलोकहितसुखावाहार्थनाय च प्रतिष्ठापितवती इति ।

आचार्यैः अपरमहावनशैलीयैः सुपरिगृहीतम् इदं महाचैत्यनवकर्म
पर्णग्रामवास्तव्यानां दीर्घमध्यमपञ्चमातृकादेशकवाचकानां आचार्याणाम्
आर्यसङ्घानाम् अन्तेवासिकेन दीर्घमध्यमनिकायधरेण भदन्तानन्देन निष्ठा-
पितम् इदं नवकर्म महाचैत्यम्, स्कम्भाः च स्थापिताः इति । राज्ञः श्रीवीर-
पुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे ६ वर्षापक्षे ६ दिवसे १० ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

Salutation to the Supreme perfectly enlightened one, honoured
by the lord of the celestals who had attained liberation¹

At his great Chaitya²

Chāntīśrī³, the sister of Śrī Chantamūla favoured by Mahāsēna

(i.e., Skanda), the lord of Virūpāksha (horde)⁴, the paternal aunt of king Virapurushadatta, the wife of Vāsishṭhīputra Skandaśrī of the Pūkiyas, the great commander and the great chieftain (*mahā-talavara*)⁵ and the mother of Skandasāgaramaṇṇaka, who is devoted to all the virtuous⁶; out of compassion to Śramaṇas, Brāhmaṇas and those that are miserable, poor and destitute, is wont to bestow on them matchless and ceaseless flow of Velāmic gifts⁷, has erected this pillar for the eternal good of both the families, for the attainment of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and also of the bliss of final emancipation (*nirvāṇa*) and for the welfare and happiness of all the world.

This pious construction of the great monument is accepted by the preceptors of the Aparamahāvanaśailīya⁸ sect. This was completed by the venerable Ānanda, the disciple of the preceptors of the Ārya-saṅgha residing at Pamṇagāma and preaching the Dīghā-Majjhima-pañcha *mātukas*;⁹ who knows the two *nikāyas* by heart.

On the 10th day in the 6th fortnight of the rainy season in the 6th (regnal) year of king Virapurushadatta.

NOTES

1. For a full description of the Buddha who is referred to here, see No. 182 below. This is also available in *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 16, c.3.

2. This stands for a monument with or without the relics or the Bōdhi tree.

3. This lady was responsible for erecting many more pillars (Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 13, List of Inscriptions, A2-4, B-3, C-3, D-2, D-4, and X) for this monument. For her role in erecting the main monument itself see No. 185 below. Aṭavī Chantiśrī, the sister of Virapurushadatta also contributed a pillar on the same date (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 18, B-2 and plate).

4. This description is in addition to the other epithets found in No. 180 which are also repeated here.

5. As pointed out by Sircar (*Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, (Revised) 1965, p. 229, note 5) this title is bestowed on a person raised to the rank of a high dignitary at the pleasure of the king.

6. Inscription C-3 referred to in note 3 above has an additional expression *mahādānapatini* i.e., the lady (who was) a great donor. The conventional interpretation of 'the wife of a great donor' will not hold good as her husband is not known to have taken part in any of these activities. It is evident that the

venerable Ānanda was instrumental in effecting the construction on behalf of this lady. See also No. 182 below, note 2

7. Velāma was a brāhmaṇa priest of the legendary king Brahmadatta of Vāraṇasī. He spent all his patrimony in charity continuously for seven years and seven months (Velāma-jātaka, see BEFEO., XLIV, 2, 1959, pp. 609 ff see also Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 33).

8. This sect was one among the sub-sects of the later Mahāsāṅghikas, one branch of which migrated to the south. Minor differences of opinion regarding the robes, the nature and manner of food, worship etc. led to the formation of the subsects. See Nalinaksha Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, 1977, for more details.

9. The five *mātukās* (Sanskrit *Mātrikāḥ*) are the texts on basic doctrines obviously referring to the *Dīgha-nikāya*, the *Majjhima*², the *Saṃyutta*², the *Āṅguttara*² and the *Khuddaka*², which form the five *nikāyas* of the *Sutta-piṭaka*.

182. PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADHARA BHATṬĀRIKĀ

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 6 : c. 262 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Rudradhara-Bhaṭṭārikā/Vīrapurushadatta
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar found on the south side of the Mahāchaitya; Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Museum), Guntur Dist., A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Vogel, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XX, p. 19, B 5 and plate

TEXT

सिधं नमो भगवतो देवराजसकतस सुप्रबुधबोधिनी सवंत्रुनो सवसत-
[नु*]कंपकस ,जितरागदोसमोहविपमुतस महागणिवसभगंधहृदिस
संसंबुधस धातुवरपरिगहितस महाचेतिये उजनिका महार[ज*]वलिका
महादेवि रुद्रधरभटारिका इमं सेलखंभं अपनो हितसुखनिवाणधनाय
पतिठापितं महातलवरिहि च पकियानं चांतिसिरिणिकाहि इमस महा-
विहारस महाचेतीयं समुथपियमाने महातलवरीअ उभयिता दिनारि
मासका सतरि सतं १०० ७० खंभो च रंजो सिरि विरपुरिसदतस संव
६ वा प ६ दिव १० ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमो भगवते देवराजसत्कृताय सुप्रबुद्धबोधये सर्वज्ञाय
सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पकाय जितरागदोषमोहविप्रमुक्ताय महागणिवृषभगन्ध-

हस्तिने सम्यक्सम्बुद्धाय धातुवरपरिगृहीताय । महाचैत्ये उज्जयिनिका
महाराजबालिका महादेवी रुद्रधरभट्टारिका इमं शैलस्तम्भम् आत्मनः
हितसुखनिर्वाणधनाय प्रतिष्ठापितवती महातलवरीभिः च पूकीयानां
चन्तिश्रीभिः । अस्य महाविहारस्य महाचैत्ये समुत्थाप्यमाने महातलवर्या
उभयिताः दीनारिमाषकाः सप्तत्यधिक १७० स्तम्भः च । राज्ञः श्रीवीर-
पुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे ६ वर्णापक्षे ६ दिवसे १० ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

Salutation to the Supreme [Buddha] honoured by the lord of the celestials, perfectly enlightened, omniscient, compassionate towards all sentient beings, free from lust, hatred and delusion, the bull and the lordly elephant among great spiritual leaders, one who has attained final emancipation.

While *Mahātalavarī Chantiśrī* of the Pūkiya family was raising the great monument of the great monastery, one hundred and seventy (170) *dināri māshakas*¹ and a pillar² were contributed to her (by Rudradhara-bhaṭṭārikā)

Rudradhara-bhaṭṭārikā, the daughter of the *mahārāja* of Ujjainī³ and the queen (of Virapurushadatta) erected this pillar for the great monastery, for her own welfare, happiness and final emancipation.

On the twentieth day in the sixth fortnight in the rainy season in the sixth (regal) year of king *Virapurushadatta*.

NOTES

1. Dināra refers to the Roman *denarius* imported into South India in those times or to its local imitations. The word *māshaka* (cf. later *māḍha*) refers to its weight in terms of grains.

2. The pillar itself bears this inscription. We are left to wonder why a direct statement has not been made to the effect that the queen made the gift of money. Chāntīśrī dedicated many pillars for the edifice. See No. 180, above Note 3. See *Inscriptions of the Ikshvāku period* by P. R. Srinivasan and S. Sankaranarayanan, No. 13, where the *mahātalavari* is identified with the queen. But see No. 181 above, note 5.

3. The name of the lady (Rudradhara) and of the place (Ujjain) indicate that the lady was a Śāka princess and her father, like many kings of the Kārdamaka Kshatrapa family (Rudradāman, Rudrasīmha, Rudrasēna etc.), had Rudra as the first part of his name.

183. PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN BAPPIŚRĪ

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 6 : c. 262 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Bappiśrī/Vīrapurushadatta
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar found on the west side of the Mahā- chaitya site, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Museum), Guntur Dist., A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Vogel <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XX, p. 19, c. 2 and plate.

TEXT

सिधं ॥ नमो भगवतो देवराजसकतस १संसंसंसंबुधस धातुवरपरि-
गहितस । महाचेतिये महारजस विरुपखपतिमहासेनपरिगहितस अगिहो-
तागिठो^२गिठोम वाजपेयासमेधयाजिस हिरणकोटिगोसतसहसहलसतसहस-
पदायिस सवथेसु अपतिहतसंकपस वासिठीपुतस इखाकुस सिरिचातमूलस
सोदराय भगिनिय हंसिरिणिकाय बालिका रंजो सिरिविरपुरिसदतस
भया महादेवि वपिसिरिणिका अपनो मातरं हंसिरिणिकं परिनमतुन
अतने च निवाणसंपतिसंपादके इमं सेलथंभं पतिठपितं । अचरियानं अपर-
महाविनसेलियानं सुपरिगहितं इमं महाचेतियनवकमं । पणगामवथवानं
दीधमझिमपंदमातुकदेस[कवा*]चकानं अ[च*]रयानं अयिरहघानं अंते-
वासिकेन दीधम[झिम*]निगयधरेन भदंतानंदेन निठपितं इमं नवकमं
महाचेतियं [।*] खंभा च ठपिता ति [।*] रजो सरिविरपुरिसदतस
सव ६ वा प ६ दिव १० ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमो भगवते देवराजसत्कृताय सम्यक्सम्बुद्धाय धातु-
वरपरिगृहीताय । महाचैत्ये महाराजस्य विरुपाक्षपतिमहासेनपरिगृहीतस्य
अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमवाजपेयाश्वमेधयाजिनः हिरण्यकोटिगोशतसहस्र-हल-
शतसहस्रप्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहतसंकल्पस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकोः
श्रीचन्तमूलस्य सोदरायाः भगिन्याः हर्म्यश्रयंणिकायाः बालिका राज्ञः
श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य भार्या महादेवी वप्पीश्रयंणिका आत्मनः मातरं हर्म्य-
श्रयंणिकं परिणमय्य आत्मनः च निर्वणिसम्पत्तिसम्पादकम् इमं शैलस्तम्भं
प्रतिष्ठापितवती । आचार्यैः अपरमहावनशैलीयैः सुपरिगृहीतम् इदं
महाचैत्यनवकर्म । पर्णग्रामवास्तव्यानां दीर्घमध्यमपञ्चमातृकादेशक-
वाचकानाम् आचार्याणाम् आर्यसङ्घानाम् अन्तेवासिकेन दीर्घमध्यमनि-
कायधरेण भदन्तानन्देन निष्ठापितम् इदं नवकर्म महाचैत्यम् । स्कम्भाः
च स्थापिता इति ।

राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे ६ वर्षापक्षे ६ दिवसे १० ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

[The usual descriptions of Buddha and Chantamūla are given as in the preceding inscriptions]

Queen Bappiśrī, the wife of king Virapurushadatta and the daughter of Harmyaśrī, who was the sister of Chantamūla erected this stone pillar in the great monument with due regard to her mother and also for her own final emancipation.⁴

NOTES

1. संम is redundant
2. गिठो is redundant
3. This is the earliest instance of the cross-cousin marriage recorded in the south. This king married another daughter of Harmyaśrī (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 20 Ins. C. 4). He married also the daughter of Chantiśrī, the famous sister of Chantamūla (see No. 185 below). See genealogical table. This is referred to as an established custom in South India by Baudhāyana (6th century B.C.) in his Dharmasūtra (I, ii, 1-4).
4. This section is followed by the passage commencing from 'Āchariyānam' to the end as in No. 181 above.

**184. NĀGA STONE INSCRIPTION OF VISHṆUKAḌA
SĀTAKARṆI**

<i>Date</i>	.. Year 12 : A.D. 262
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Śivaskandanāgaśrī/Vishṇukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda-Sātakarṇi
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Chuṭu-Sātakarṇi
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone slab, Banavasi, Sirsi Taluk, North Kanara Dist.
<i>Reference</i>	.. G.S. Gai, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXIV, pp. 239-242 and plate.

TEXT

सिधं ॥ रज्रो हारितिपुतस विण्हुकडचुटुकुलानंदसातकणिस वस-
सताय सवछरं १० २ हेमंतान पखो ७ दिवस १ महाभुविय महाराजबा-
लिकाय जिवपुताय युवराजमातुय सिवखदनागसिरिय देयधमं नागो तडागं
विहारो च । एथ कमतिको अमचो खदसाति । सजयतकस अचरियस
दमोरकस सीसेन नटकेन नागो कतो॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः हारितीपुत्रस्य विष्णुकडचुटुकुलानन्दसातकर्णेः वर्ष-
शताय संवत्सरे १२ हेमन्तपक्षे ७ दिवसे १ महाभोज्याः महाराजबालिकायाः
जीवपुत्रायाः युवराजमातुः शिवस्कन्दनागश्रियः देयधर्मः नागः तडागः

विहारः च । अत्र कर्मान्तिकः अमात्यः स्कन्दस्वातिः । संजयन्तिकस्य
आचार्यस्य दमोरकस्य शिष्येण नटकेन नागः कृतः ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the 1st day in the 7th fortnight in the winter (season) in the 12th year in the century-long reign of king Vishṇukaḍa Chuṭu-Kul-Ānanda Śātakarṇī of Hārīti (spiritual) lineage.

*Mahābhōjī*¹ Śivaskandanāgaśrī, the daughter of the emperor, the mother of the prince, yet living², donated a (stone depicting) serpent, a tank and a monastery.

Minister Skandasvāti was the superintendent of the works. The serpent-stone was done by Naṭaka, a disciple of Damōraka³, a teacher of Sañjayantī.⁴

NOTES

1. *Mahābhōja* was an epithet of chieftains of Māhārāshṭra in those times.
2. See Nos. 42 and 197 for a similar statement.
3. It is restored as Idamoraka (Indramayūraka) by Bühler (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 96).
4. This is identical with Jayantī or Vijayantī, an ancient name of Banavāsi, the findspot.

185. CHAITYA INSCRIPTION OF BŌDHIŚRĪ

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 14 : c. 270 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Bōdhiśrī/Vīrapurushadatta
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Slab on the floor of an apsidal shrine, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Museum), Guntur District, A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Vogel, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XX, p. 22, inscription F and plate.

TEXT

सिधं^१ ॥ नमो^२ भगवतो इखाकुराजपवररिसिसतपभववंससंभवस
देवमनुससवसतहितसुखमगदेसिकस जितकामकोधभयहरिसतरिसमोहदो-
सस दपितभारवलदपमानपसमनकरस दसवलमह्वलस अठगमगधमचक-
पवतकस चकलखणसुकुमारसुजातचरणस तरुणदिवसकरपभस सरदससि-
सोमदरिसनस सवलोकचितमहितस बुधस । रंजो माढरिपुतस [संवछरं*]
चोदं १० ४ हेमंतपखं छठं ६ दिवसं तेरं १० ३ । अचंतराजाचरियानं
कस्मीरगंधार-चीन-चिलात तोसलि-अवरंत वंग-वनवासी यवन-दमिल-
पलूर-तंवपंणिदीप-पसदकानं थेरियानं तंवपंणकानं सुपरिगहे सिरिपवत्ते
विजयपुरीय पुवदिसाभागे विहारे चुलधंमगिरीयं चेतियधरं सपटसंथरं
सचेतीयं सवनियुतं कारितं उवासिकाय बोधिसिरिय अपनो भतुनो
बुधिनकस पितुनो च से गोवगामवथवस रेवतगहपतिस मातुय च स
बुधंनिकाय भातुनं च से चंदमुखनस कंरंबुधिनस ह्धंनस भगिनीय च

रेवतिनिकाय भातुपुतानं च महाचंदमुखचुलचंदमुखानं भागिनेयानं च
 महामूलचुलमूलानं अपनो च अयकस मूलवानियस अयिकाय बुधवानि-
 किनाय मातुलक कोठाकारिकस भदस बोधिसंमस चंदस
 बोधिकस महामातुकाय भदिलाय [।*] बोधिय च अपनो [पितुनो]
 बुधवानियस मातुय भातुनो मूलस भगिनीनं बुधनिकाय
 मूलनिकाय नागबोधिनिकाय च धूतुय वीरनिकाय पुतानं नागनस वीरनस
 च सुन्हानं च भदसिरिमिसीनं । एवमेव च कुलहविहारे चेतियधरं सीह-
 लविहारे बोधिरुखपासादो महाधंमगिरियं ओवरको १ महाविहारे
 मंडवखंभो [१] देवगिरियं पधानसाला पुवसेले तलाकं अलंदामडवो च
 कंटकसोले महाचेतियस पुवदारे सेलमंडवो हिरुमुठुवे ओवरका तिणि ३
 पपिलायं ओवरका सत ७ पुफगिरियं सेलमंडवो धं विहारे
 सेलमंडवो १ । एतं च सवं उवरिर्वणिंतं [सा*]धुवगस अच-
 तहितसुखाय थवितं सवस च लोकस । इमं नवकंमं तिहि नवकंमिकेहि
 कारितं चंदमुखथेरेन च धंमनंदिथेरेन च नागथेरेन च । सेलवडाकिस
 विधिकस कंमं ति ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमो भगवते इक्ष्वाकुराजप्रवरर्षिशतप्रभववंशसंभवाय
 देवमनुष्य सर्वसत्त्वहितसुखमार्गदेशिकाय जितकामक्रोधभयहर्षतर्षमोहदो-
 षाय दर्पितमारबलदर्पमानप्रशमनकराय दशबलमहाबलाय अष्टाङ्गमार्ग-
 धर्मचक्रप्रवर्तकाय चक्रलक्षणसुकुमारसुजातचरणाय तरुणदिवसकरप्रभाय
 शारदशशिसौम्यदर्शनाय सर्वलोकचित्तमहिताय बुद्धाय । राज्ञः माठरी-
 पुत्रस्य वीरपुरुषदत्तस्य] संवत्सरः चतुर्दशः २४ हेमन्तपक्षः षष्ठः ६
 दिवसः त्रयोदशः १३ । अचन्तराजाचार्याणाम् कश्मीर-गन्धार-चीन-
 किरात-तोसली-अपरान्त-वङ्ग-वनवासि-यवन-दमिल-पलूर-ताम्रपर्णीद्वीप-
 प्रसादकानां स्थविराणां ताम्रपर्णकानां सुपरिग्रहे श्रीपर्वते विजयपुर्याः
 पूर्वदिशाभागे विहारे क्षुद्रधर्मगिरौ चैत्यगृहं सत्पट्टसंस्तरं सचैत्यं सर्वनियुक्तं

कारितम् उपासिकया बोधिश्चिया—आत्मनः भर्तुः बुधिणकस्य पितुः च
 अस्य गोपग्रामवास्तव्यस्य रैवतगृहपतेः मातुः च अस्य बुधंणिकायाः
 भ्रातृणां च अस्य चन्द्रमुखस्य करुम्बुध्यण्णस्य सङ्खण्णस्य भगिन्याः च
 रेवत्यंणिकायाः भ्रातुण्पुत्रयोः च महाचन्द्रमुखशुद्रचन्द्रमुखयोः भागिनेययोः
 च महामूलक्षुद्रमूलयोः आत्मनः च आर्यकस्य मूलवाणीकस्य आर्यिकायाः
 बुद्धवाणीकायाः मातुलकानां कोष्ठागारिकस्य भद्रस्य
 बोधिशर्मणः चन्द्रस्य बोधिकस्य च महामातृकायाः भद्रिलायाः बोद्धचाः
 च आत्मनः पितुः बुद्धिवाणीकस्य मातुः भ्रातुः मूलस्य
 भगिनीनां बुधंणिकायाः मूलंणिकायाः नागबोधिनिकायाः च दुहितुः वीरं-
 णिकायाः पुत्रयोः नागस्य वीरस्य च स्नुषयोः च भद्रश्रीमिश्रयोः [एतेषां
 सर्वेषां कल्याणाय] एवं एव च कुलहविहारे चैत्यगृहं सिंहलविहारे
 बोधिवृक्षप्रासादः महाधर्मगिरौ अपवारकः १ महाविहारे मण्डपस्तम्भः १
 देवगिरौ प्रधानशाला पूर्वशैले तडागम् अलिन्दमण्डपः च कण्टकशोले
 (or शैले) महाचैत्यस्य पूर्वद्वारे शैलमण्डपः हिरुमस्तूपे? अपवारकाः त्रयः.
 ३ पपिलायम् अपवारकाः सप्त ७ पुष्पगिरौ शैलमण्डपः धं.
 विहारे शैलमण्डपः १ एतत् च सर्वम् उपरिर्वर्णितं साधुवर्गस्य अत्यन्त-
 हितसुखाय स्थापितं, सर्वस्य च लोकस्य [हितसुखाय] । इदं नवकर्म
 त्रिभिः नवकर्मिकैः कारितम्—चन्द्रमुखस्थविरेण च धर्मनंदिस्थविरेण च
 नागस्थविरेण च । शैलवर्द्धके : विधिकस्य कर्म इति ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

Salutation to the Supreme Buddha who was born of a lineage of hundreds of saintly kings commencing from Ikshvāku, who has shown the way to the welfare and the happiness of gods, men and all beings; who has conquered lust, anger, fear, desire, thirst, delusion and hatred; who has curbed the pride of Māra³; whose great power

is *daśabala*⁴; who had set in motion the wheel of the law⁵ in the eight-fold paths⁶, . . . who has well-formed and graceful feet the soles of which bear (the auspicious) marks of the wheel (of Dharma), who has the splendour of the rising Sun; who has the lovely appearance of the autumnal moon and who is exalted in the minds of (all the peoples of) the whole world.

On the 13th day in the 6th fortnight of winter in the 14th regnal year of king Māṭharīputra / [Vīrapurushadatta]

Bōdhiśrī, a lady lay-devotee (*upāsikā*) got a *chaitya* hall paved with slabs with a memorial (shrine) and other accessories in the monastery at the smaller Dharmagiri to the east of **Vijayapurī** at **Śrīparvata**,⁷

For the enjoyment of the preceptors of the Achantarāja⁸ (school) who favoured (i.e. converted the people in) Kaśmīra, Gandhāra, Chīna, Kirāta, Tōsali, Aparānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Damila, Palūra and the island of Tāmaparṇī⁹ and for the monks of Sthavira-vāda school from the same island.

For the merit of herself, her husband Budhiṃṇika, his father, the householder Rēvata residing at Gōvagrāma, his mother Budhaṃṇikā, his brothers Chandramukha and Karumbuddhiṃṇa, his sister Revatiṃṇikā, his brother's sons senior Chandramukha and junior Chandramukha, his sister's sons, senior Mūla and junior Mūla, her own grandfather merchant Mūla and grandmother Budhavāṇikini, her maternal uncles, Treasurer Bhadra, Bōdhiśarma, Chandra and Bōdhika, maternal grandmothers Bhadrilā and Bōdhī, her father, merchant Budhi and mother . . ., her brother Mūla, her sisters Budhaṃṇikā, Mūlaṃṇikā and Nāgabodhinikā, her daughter Vīraṃṇikā, her sons Nāgaṃṇa and Vīraṃṇa, and her daughters-in-law Bhadraśrī and Miśrī and so on.

(Further more) A *chaitya* shrine at the Kulaha monastery, an enclosure for the Bōdhi tree at the Simhāḷa monastery, one cell at the greater Dharmagiri, a pillar for the hall at the great monastery, the main hall at Dēvagiri, a tank and a hall with a verandah around at the Pūrvaśīla, a stone hall at the eastern entrance of the great *chaitya* at Kaṇṭakasōla,¹⁰ 3 cells at Hirumu *stūpa*, 7 cells at Papilā,

stone hall at Pushpagiri, a stone hall at the . . . monastery at Dhā[nyakaṭaka]-

all these described above were set up for the welfare and comfort of the pious and of all the world.

Chandramukha-sthavira, Dharmanandi-sthavira and Nāga-sthavira, the three supervisors caused these to be made. Vidhika¹¹ was the stone-mason.

NOTES

1. There is a punctuation mark here. This is read by B.Ch. Chhabra as ōṃ. This figures also in *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 25, H and No. 186 below.
2. The text of this inscription is engraved on the stone leaving space between words or set of words as in the case of the Aśōkan Edict from Mīraṭh and the Besnagar Pillar inscription (No. 48).
3. Māra (cupid) is an enemy of Buddha and his religion, tempting people to indulge in passion. Buddha has an epithet Mārajit.
4. One who possesses ten powers such as, giving away (*dāna*), patience (*kshānti*), character (*śīla*), valour (*vīrya*), meditation (*dhyāna*), peace (*śānti*), strength (*bala*), knowledge of means (*upāya*), concentration (*prañidhāna*) and wisdom (*jñāna*) (from Kshīrasvāmin's commentary on *Nāmalingānuśāsana* (*Amarakōśa*), 1913, Poona, p. 5).
5. By turning the wheel of the law of piety, Buddha is said to have inaugurated the propagation of his doctrines.
6. The eight-fold paths are right views, right resolution, right speech, right action, right living, right exertion, right recollection and right meditation.
7. Śrīparvata is the name for the northern parts of the Nallamalai ranges in Andhra Pradesh. Vijayapurī was the name of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (now under the waters of modern Nāgārjunasāgar) and owes its name apparently to the Sātavāhana king Vijaya Sātakarṇi (See No. 170 above). It is mentioned again in another inscription of Virapurushadatta (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, p. 211, No. IV and Plate). There were two points topographically prominent, which were called the bigger and the smaller Dharmagiris.
8. Sircar's reading given here is better than Vogel's 'Bhajantarāja' corrected into Bhadantarāja. For another instance of the present reading see No. 192 below.
9. The countries are identical with the following in the order of their enumeration: Kashmir, Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts of Pakistan, Chin a,

probably Nepal, Dhauli in Orissa, North Konkan in Maharashtra, parts of eastern and southern Bengal, Banavāsi in North Kannada District in Karnaṭaka Greek settlements in South Asia, Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka (*Tambapaṇṇi*).

10. Kaṇṭakasōla is the same as Ghaṇṭasāla in Andhra Pradesh, referred, to as Kantakassulos by Ptolemy (see No. 207 below), Dhānyakaṭaka is Dharaṇi-kōṭa near Amarāvati in Andhra Pradesh (see note 3, No. 131); Hirumu-stūpa cannot be identified. The rest are all topographical features within the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley, now submerged.

11. Vidhika's name is found in a label along with the bow and arrow symbol engraved in a number of pillars. See H. Sarkar, "Chronological Aspects of Masons' Marks for Nāgārjunakoṇḍa", *Bhārati*, Nos. 12-14 (1968-71)

186. STONE HALL INSCRIPTION OF CHĀNTIŚRĪ

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 18 : c. 274 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Chāntiśrī/Vīrapurushadatta
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Slab found on the floor of the apsidal shrine No. 1, east of Mahāchaitya, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Museum), Guntur Dist., A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Vogel, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XX, Ins., E, p. 21 and plate.

TEXT

सिधं । नमो भगवतो बुधस । चेतियघर महारजस विरूपखपति महा-
 सेनपरिगहितस अगिहोतागिठोमवाजपेयासमेधयाजिस अनेकहिरणकोटि-
 गोसतसहसहलसतस[हस*]पदायिस सवथेसु अपतिहतसंकपस वासेठिपुतस
 इखा[कु]कुलस सिरिचंतमूलस सहोदरा भगिनि महातलवरस पुगियानं
 खंदसिरिस भरिया महातलवरि खंदसागरनंगमाता चातिसिरि अपनो
 जामातुकस रजो माठरिपुतस इखाकुनं सिरिविरपुरिसदतस अयुवधनिके
 वेजयिके अपनो च उभय[लोक]हितसुखनिवाणथनाय संमसंबुधस [धा]तु-
 परिगहितस महाचेतियपादमूले पवजितानं नानादेससमनागतानं सव-
 साधूनं महाभिखुसंधस अपनो च उभयकुलस अतिछित्तमनागतवटमानके
 निकपनिके च परिनामेतुनं अपरमहाविनसेलियानं परिगहे सवनियुतं

चातुसलपरिगृहीतं सेलमंटवं पतिठापितं रंजो सिरिविरपुरिसदतस संवच्छरं
अठार सं १० ८ हेमंतपखं छठं ६ दिवसं पंचमं ५ सवसतानं हिताय
सुखाय होतु ति ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् । नमो भगवते बुद्धाय । चैत्यगृहम् । महाराजस्य विरूपाक्ष-
पतिमहासेनपरिगृहीतस्य अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमवाजपेयाश्वमेधयाजिनः अने-
कहिरण्यकोटिगोशतसहस्रहलशतसहस्रप्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहतसं-
कल्पस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकुकुलस्य श्रीचन्तमूलस्य सहोदरा भगिनी
महातलवरस्य पूकीयानां स्कन्दश्रियः भार्या महातलवरी स्कन्दसागरं-
णकमाता चान्तिश्रीः आत्मनः जामातुः राज्ञः माठरीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां
श्री वीरपुरुषदत्तस्य आयुर्वर्धनिके वैजयिके आत्मनः च उभय[लोक]-
हितसुखनिर्वाणार्थनाय सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य धातुपरिगृहीतस्य महाचैत्यपादमूले
प्रव्रजितानां नानादेशश्रमणागतानां (नानादेशागतानां श्रमणानां) सर्व-
साधूनां महाभिक्षुसंधस्य आत्मनः च उभयकुलस्य अत्यर्च्छितानागतवर्त्त-
मानकान् [निष्कृपणकान्] च परिणमय्य अपरमहावनशैलीयानां परिग्रहे
सर्वनियुक्तं चतुःशालापरिगृहीतं शैलमण्डपं प्रतिष्ठापितवती । राज्ञः
श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे अष्टादशे सं १८ हेमन्तपक्षे षष्ठे ६ दिवसे
पञ्चमे ५ सर्वसत्त्वानां हिताय सुखाय भवतु इति ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

Salutations to the Supreme Buddha

Chāntiśrī¹ built near the great monument, a well-furnished stone-
hall surrounded by verandahs on all four sides, for the use of the
(teachers of) Aparamahāvanaśailiyas² for the sake of a long life and
success for her son-in-law Virapurushadatta³ and for the eternal
prosperity of the monks and of pious people hailing from various

countries as also for the welfare of the two families (her parents and the parents of her husband) in the past, present and future generations.

The fifth day in the sixth fortnight of the winter season in the 18th regnal year of king Śrī **Vīrapurushadatta**.

NOTES

1. She is introduced in this record with the same attributes as in No. 181 above.
2. A sub-division of the Mahāsāṅghikas (see No. 181 above).
3. This provides another instance of the cross-cousin marriage (see No. 183 above). It should be noted, however, that the earlier inscriptions dated in the 6th regnal year of this king which record her contributions, do not mention this fact.

187. WOODEN TABLET INSCRIPTION OF VIJITASIMHA

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 10 : c. A.D. 274
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthi
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit influenced by Local Dialect
<i>Donor/King</i> Hīnādhyadēva alias Vijitasimha
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Vijita
<i>Location</i>	.. Endere, Chinese Turkestan, China
<i>Reference</i>	.. Boyer, Rapson and Senart, <i>Kharōshthi Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan</i> , No. 661, p. 249 and plate.

TEXT

संवत्सरे १० मसे ३ धिवझ १० ४ ४ इज क्षुनमि खोतनमहरयरय-
तिरय हिनझदेव^१ विजिर्दासहस्य तकलि अस्ति मनुश नगरग ख्वर्नर्से नम
तथ मद्रदि अस्ति मयि उटः तनुवगः सो उटः अविहन्ननु हरदि धहि अधि
तद्रिजु वशो त इदनि सो उटो विक्रिनामि मुल्य न मष सहस्र अष्टि ४ ४
१००० सुलिग वगिति वधगस्य सगजि तस्य उटस्य किद वगिति वधगस्य
सगजि तस्य उटस्य किद वगिति वधग निरवशिषो मुल्यो मस धितु ख्वर्नर्सेस्य
ग्रहिदु शुधि अवगदु अजि उवदयि सो उटः वगिति वधगस्य तनुवगः संत्रितः
यथगम गरनीयः सर्वकिच करनीयः यो पचेम कलि तस्य उटस्य किद
चुदियदि विदियदि विवदु उथवियदि त न तथ धडु धिनदि यथ रजधमु
स्यदि मय धलवगु वहधिव लिखिदु ख्वर्नर्सेस्य अजिषनयि पुरदु स्प श न र स
ननिवधग सक्षिशशिवक सक्षि स्पनियक सक्षि ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

संवत्सरे १० मासे ३ दिवसे १८ । इह क्षणे खोतनमहाराजराजाति-
 राज हीनाध्यदेव विजितसिंहस्य । तत्काले अस्ति मनुष्यः नागरकः
 ख्वर्णर्सनामा । तथा मन्वयते—“अस्ति मे उष्ट्रः । तनुवकः सः उष्ट्रः
 अभिज्ञानं धरति दाहाङ्कं तादृशं 'वशो' । तत् इदानीम् तम् उष्ट्रं विक्रीणामि
 मूल्येन माष सहस्राष्ट ८००० मुलिक वगितिवधगस्य सकाशे ” । तस्य
 उष्ट्रस्य कृते वगितिवधगेन निरवशेषः मूल्य माषः धृतः ख्वर्णर्सनं गृहीतः,
 शुद्धिः उपगता । अद्य उपादाय सः उष्ट्रः वगितिवधगस्य तनुवकः संवृत्तः;
 यथाकामं करणीयः । सर्वकृत्यं करणीयम् । यः पश्चिमकाले तस्य उष्ट्रस्य
 कृते चोदयति, वेदयति विवादम् उत्थापयति, तस्य तथा दण्डः दीयेत यथा
 राजधर्मः स्यात् । मया धलवगुवहुधिवेन लिखितः ख्वर्णर्सस्य अध्येषणाय
 पुरतः स्पं, शं, नं, रं, सं । ननिवधगः साक्षी, शशिवकः साक्षी, स्पनियकः
 साक्षी ॥

SUMMARY

On the 18th day in the 3rd month in the 10th year in the reign of Mahārājātīrāja Hīnādhyadēva *alias* Vijitasimha² of Khōtas.

There is a citizen Khwarṇarsa by name. He proposes that his camel branded with the name Vasō be sold to Sulika Vagiti Vadhaga for 8000 *māshas*. Accordingly he receives the full amount and acknowledges the same.

Now that the camel has been sold, Vagiti Vadhaga may do as he pleases. All formalities may be observed.

One who questions or disputes this sale later on will be liable for punishment according to the rules of the government.

I, Dhalavagu Bahudhiva have written the document at the instance of Khwarṇarsa

Spa³, Śa, Na, Ra, Sa.

The witnesses: Nani-Vadhaga, Śaśivaka and Spaniyaka.⁴

NOTES

1. as corrected by Sircar (*Sel.Ins.*, I, p.257, No.8) from the reading of the authors 'हिमज्ञस्य अ'. Hinajha is, as pointed out by Sircar, connected with Iranian 'Henaja' meaning 'commander of armies'.

2. Vijitasimha was the 16th in descent from Kustana reported to be a son of Aśoka, whose son Ye-u-la founded the kingdom at Khōtan in the middle of the 1st century A.D. Ye-u-la was followed by Vijitasambhava. Eleven kings who had the word Vijita as the first part of their epithets followed him. The next king Vijitadharma was the most powerful and ruled in A.D. 220-264. He was succeeded by Vijitasimha, Vijitakirti etc., probably upto the 4th century A.D.

3. This and the following two letters represent the signatures of the three witnesses mentioned immediately below in the reverse order. The letters *ra* and *sa* are in Brāhmī, probably representing the 'initial' letters of the names of two more witnesses not mentioned.

4. Numerous such documents written in ink on wooden tablets and leather pieces have been discovered in the Central Asian sites at Khotan, Niya and Endere. See Stein, *ibid.*

188. WOODEN WEDGE TABLET INSCRIPTION
FROM NIYA

<i>Date</i>	.. C. A.D. 274
<i>Script</i>	.. Kharōshthī
<i>Language</i>	.. Local Dialect and Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Niya, Chinese Turkestan, China
<i>Reference</i>	.. Boyer, Rapson and Senart, <i>Kharōshthī Inscriptions</i> discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan, No. 523, p.191 and plate.

TEXT

Metres: Verse 1 *Upajāti* (mixed with *Upēndravajrā* and *Indravajrā*); Verse 2 *Vamśastha*; Verse 3 *Vasantatilakā*; Verse 4 *Āryā*.

Reverse¹

यथा मनुष्यः पथि वर्तमानः

क्वचित्क्वचिद्विश्रमते श्रमार्तः ।

तथा मनुष्यस्य धनानि काले

काले समाश्वास्य पुनर्ब्रजन्ति ॥ १ ॥

पुनर्नरो वर्द्धति हायति पुनः

पुनर्नरो शास्यति निन्द्यते पुनः ।

पुनर्नरो शोचति नन्दति पुनः

पुनं (न) द (र्द) दाति पुनरेव याचति ॥ २ ॥
 दुस्मन मात्सरितया विधिवात् न भुक्ता
 भोगा मनं परिदहंत्यनयेन नठः ।
 लोभात्मनो खलगतः परिहीनकाले
 सस्यस्य राशय इनातिशतस्य दग्धः ॥ ३ ॥
 धिक् जिवितमधनानां पुनरपि धिक् जिवितः बहुधनानां ।
 येषां न भवति बुद्धिः भोक्तुं वा संविभागे वा ॥ ४ ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

यथा मनुष्यः पथि वर्तमानः
 क्वचित्क्वचिद्विश्रमते श्रमार्त्तः ।
 तथा मनुष्यस्य धनानि काले
 काले समाश्वास्य पुनर्व्रजन्ति ॥ १ ॥
 पुनर्नरो वर्द्धति^२ हीयते पुनः
 पुनर्नरः शांस्यति^३ निन्द्यते पुनः ।
 पुनर्नरः शोचति नन्दते पुनः
 पुनर्ददाति^४ पुनरेव याचते ॥ २ ॥
 दत्त्वा न मात्सरितया विधिवन्न भुक्ता
 भोगा मनः परिदहन्त्यनयेन नष्टाः ।
 लोभात्मनः खलगताः परिहीनकाले
 सस्यस्य राशय इवातिशयेन दग्धाः ॥ ३ ॥
 धिक् जीवितमधनानां
 पुनरपि धिक् जीवितं बहुधनानाम् ।
 येषां न भवति बुद्धि-
 भोक्तुं वा संविभागे वा ॥ ४ ॥

SUMMARY

The wealth of man lingers and takes flight even as man on a journey rests occasionally out of tiredness and continues to travel.

Man grows again and declines; is praised and is despised again; again grieves and revels; again gives and begs.

Man does not give out of jealousy nor does he enjoy appropriately. His heart burns (when he finds that he has) not enjoyed pleasures. This miser's wealth gets into the hands of the wicked like the heaps of grains withering away.

Fie unto the lives of those without wealth; fie again unto those with too much of wealth; they do not have the wisdom either to enjoy or to distribute (their wealth).

NOTES

1. The text on the obverse in Local Dialect is not given here. It contains only a list of farmers giving the year 8 and the details of the names of persons like Padmaśrī, Rudrasēna, Chagusha, Dharmasūra etc. and the extent of their holdings.

2. for वर्धते.

3. for शस्यते.

4. Read पुनश्च दत्ते for metre.

189. INSCRIPTION OF SAṄGHILA OF DHĀNYAKAṬAKA

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 19 : c. 275 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Saṅghila/Vīrapurushadatta
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Slab from a <i>stūpa</i> , Uppuguṇḍūru, Prakasam District, Andhra Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. B. Ch. Chhabra, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XXXIII, p. 191 and plate.

TEXT

सिधं । नमो भगवतो सवसतोत्तमस संमासंबुधसेति ।

महाराजस माढरीपुतस इखाकुनं सिरिविरपुरिसदत्तस संवछरं १०
६ गिम्ह पखं ४ दिवसं २० ३ धन्नकडवथवस संधिलगहपतिस नतुकेन
वैरवानियपुतेन संधिलेन मताय धंमवानिकिनीय भातुनो च नागिलंनकस
भगिनिनं बुधंनिकाय समुदंनिकाय भरियाय सागरंनिकाय भातुभरियाय
संघनिकाय बालकानं च वैरसिरिनकस चंद कस नागिलंनकस
बालिकानं च धमंनिकाय पतु काय नागसंमंनिकाय च एवं
सनातिमितबंध य पटने महा

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमो भगवते सर्वसत्त्वोत्तमाय सम्यक्सम्बुद्धाय ।

महाराजस्य माढरीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे
१६ ग्रीष्मपक्षे ४ दिवसे २३ धान्यकटकवास्तव्यस्य संधिलगृहपतेः नप्त्रा

वैरवाणिज्यकपुत्रेण संधिलेन मातुः धर्मवाणिकिन्याः भ्रातुः नागिलंणकस्य
 भगिन्योः बुद्धचणिकायाः समुद्रंणिकायाः भार्यायाः सागरंणिकायाः भ्रातृ-
 भार्यायाः संधंणिकायाः वालकानां च वैरश्यंणकस्य चन्द्रश्यंणकस्य
 नागिलंणकस्य वालिकानां च धर्मणिकायाः पतु कायाः
 नागसंमंणिकायाः च एवं सजातिमित्रबंधु यपत्तने महा . . .

SUMMARY

Success!

Salutation to Buddha

On the 23rd day in the 4th fortnight of the summer season in
 the 19th regnal year of **Vīrapurushadatta**,

Saṅghila¹, the son of the merchant Vaira and the grandson of
 Saṅghila, a householder residing at Dhamṇakaḍa²

Contributed . . . in the . . . of a city³ (for the merit of) his
 mother Dharmavāṇikini, brother Nāgilamṇaka, sisters Budhamṇikā
 and Samudramṇikā, his wife Sāgaramṇikā, his brother's wife
 Saṅghamṇikā, sons Vairaśryamṇaka, Chandra . . . ka and Nāgilam-
 ṇaka and daughters Dharmamṇikā, . . . kā and Nāgasamṇamṇikā
 and along with agnates, friends and relatives.

NOTES

1. Note this name which was also his grandfather's name.
2. This is the same place as Dhānyakaṭaka identified with Dharanikōṭa
 Guntur Dist., in Andhra Pradesh (see No. 131 above.)
3. The stone being damaged at this part, its real purport is not known.

190. PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SIDDHĀRTHA

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 20 : c. 276 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Siddhārtha/Vīrapurushadatta
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar ¹ at the entrance of the great <i>stūpa</i> site, Jaggayyapēṭa, Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. Burgess: <i>A.S.S.I.</i> , Vol. I, <i>The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapēṭa</i> , p. 110, No. 3 and plate.

TEXT

सिधं [1*] रजो माढरिपुतस इखाखुणं सिरिविरपुरिसदत्तस संवळर
 २० वासापखं ८ दिवसं १० कंमाकरठे णडतूरे वथवस आवेसनिस नाकचंदस
 पुतो गामे महाकांडुरूरे वथवो आवेसनि सिधथो आपणो मातरं नागिलनि
 पुरतो कतूनं घरनि च समुदनि बालकं च मूलसिरिं बालिकं च नाकबुधनिक
 भतुकं च बुधिनकं तस घरनि च कणिकं बालका च नागसिरि चंदसिरि
 बालिकं च सिधथनिकं एवं नातिमितसंबधिवगेन सहा गामे वेलगिरियं
 भगवतो बुधस महाचेतियपुवादरे आयकखंभे पंच ५ सवनियुते अपणो
 देयधंमं सवसतानं हितसुखाय पटिथपित ति ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः माठरीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संव-
 त्सरे २० वर्षापक्षे ८ दिवसे १० कर्मकराष्ट्रे नडतूरे वास्तव्यस्य आवेशनिनः
 नागचन्द्रस्य पुत्रः ग्रामे महाकाण्डुरूरे वास्तव्यः आवेशनी सिद्धार्थः आत्मनः

मातरं नागिलंणिकां पुरतः कृत्वा गृहिणीं च समुद्रंणिकां बालकं च मूलश्रियं
 बालिकां च नागबुध्यंणिकां भ्रातरं बुध्यंणकं तस्य गृहिणीं च कर्णिकां
 बालकौ च नागश्रियं चन्द्रश्रियं बालिकां च सिद्धार्थंणिकां एवं जातिमित्र-
 सम्बन्धिवर्गेण सह ग्रामे वेलगिरौ भगवतो बुद्धस्य महाचैत्यपूर्वद्वारे
 आयकस्कम्भान् पञ्च ५ सर्वनियुक्तान् आत्मनः देयधर्मं सर्वसत्त्वानां
 हितमुखाय प्रतिष्ठापयति इति ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the 10th day in the 8th fortnight in the 20th regnal year of
 king Śrī Virapurushadatta

Siddhārtha, an artisan residing at Mahākāṇḍurūr and a son of
 Nāgachandra, who was an artisan residing at Naḍatūr in Karmaka-
 rāshṭra erected as a pious gift, for the welfare of all sentient beings,
 five pillars with all due accessories, at the entrance of the eastern
 gateway of the great *Chaitya* of the supreme Buddha in the village
 of Vēlagiri; he did so in association with his agnates, friends and
 relatives beginning with mother Nāgilamṇikā such as: wife Samudra-
 mṇikā, son Mūlaśrī, daughter Nāga-buddhyamṇikā, brother
 Budhyamṇaka, his wife Karṇikā, their sons Nāgaśrī and Chandraśrī
 and daughter Siddhārthamṇikā.

NOTE

1. Out of the five pillars referred to in the inscriptions three pillars, bearing the same text in different versions have been recovered, wholly or partly, from the *stūpa* site.

191. ANOTHER¹ YŪPA INSCRIPTION FROM BARNĀLA

<i>Date</i>	.. Kṛita 335 : A.D. 279
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Barnāla (now in the State Museum, Jaipur), Rajasthan
<i>Reference</i>	.. Altekar, Ep. Ind., XXVI, pp. 121-123 and plate.

TEXT

कृतेहि ३०० ३० ५ जेष्ठ शुद्धस्य पंचदशी भट्ट त्रितवणशु
गर्गत्रिरात्र ५ यज्ञ इष्ट सव्वस्त इव वागा दक्षिण्य दाता ९० वष्टः प्रीयतां
धर्मो वर्धताम् ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

कृतैः ३३५ ज्येष्ठशुद्धस्य पञ्चदश्यां भट्ट त्रैतवनेषु
गर्गत्रिरात्राः ५ यज्ञाः इष्टाः । सवत्सा एव गावः दक्षिणाः दत्ताः ९० ।
विष्णुः प्रीयताम् । धर्मो वर्द्धताम् ॥

SUMMARY

On the 15th (full-moon) day in the month of Jyēshṭha in the
kṛita year 335.

Five Gargatrīrātra² sacrifices were performed by Bhaṭṭa...in
Traita-vana (forests). Ninety cows with their calves were given as
fee.

May Viṣṇu be pleased ! May *dharma* increase!

NOTES

1. For the other Yūpa inscription see No. 169.
2. This is a combination of Agnishtōma, Ukthya and Atirātra sacrifices
(Śāṅkhāyana-Śrauta-sūtra, XVI, 21). See No. 169.

192. KĀNĀKHĒRA INSCRIPTION OF ŚRĪDHARAVARMAN

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 13, Śaka 201: 278-9 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Śrīdharavarman
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka
<i>Location</i>	.. Kānākhēra near Sāñchi, Madhya Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. R.D. Banerji, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XVI, pp. 230-33 and plate.

TEXT

Metres: Verse 1 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

सिद्धं¹ ॥ भगवत्स्विदशगणसेनापतेरजितसेनस्य स्वामिमहा-
सेन[स्य*] महा² . . . दिव्यवीर्य्यार्ज्जितविजय धर्मविजयिना
शकनन्दपुत्रेण महादण्डनायकेन शकेन श्रीधरवर्मणा वर्षसहस्राय स्वराज्या-
भिवृद्धिकरे वैजयिके संवत्सरे त्रयोदशे श्रावणवहुलस्य दशमीपूर्वके
एतद्विसे³ कल्याणाभ्युदयवृद्धचर्थमक्षयस्वर्गावाप्तिहेतोर्द्धर्मयशोर्त्थं धर्म्म-
सिसंबुद्धया श्रद्धया शाश्वतं चन्द्रादित्यकालिकोयं ॥ अपि च—

कान्तः प्रसन्नसलिलः सर्वाधिगम्यः सदा
सत्त्वानां प्रियदर्शनो जलनिधिर्द्धर्म्ममिलः शाश्वतः ।

. म्य मनसा द्रव्यस्य [कृत्वा व्ययं]⁴

कूपः श्रीधरवर्मणा गुणवता खानापितोऽयं⁵ शुभः ॥ १ ॥

२०० १⁶ [1*] स्वस्त्यस्तु ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

The General Śaka Śrīdharavarman, the son of Śaka Nanda, a righteous conqueror, victorious on account of his divine prowess, and a devotee of the Supreme commander (Kārttikēya)⁷ of the celestial forces excavated

On the tenth day in the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in the thirteenth year of his own victorious reign

A well for the prosperity (of the people), for the attainment of the heaven and for the acquisition of merit and fame (for himself) out of interest in pious acts actuated by the sword-like spirit of righteousness⁸

Year 201. May there be prosperity!

NOTES

1. Engraved on the left margin of the inscription.
2. Mirashi (*CH*, Vol. IV, p. 15) restores this as *mahākumārasya divya*.
3. The original stone reads
वेजयिके संवत्सरे त्रयोदशमे श्रावणबहुलस्य दशमीपूर्वकमेतद्विवसं
4. restored by Mirashi, *ibid*.
5. The word *Khānāpita*, though metrically satisfying, is incorrect for *Khānita*, according to Pāṇini, (the ancient Sanskrit grammarian). This along with *trayōdaśame* (see note 3) betrays Prākṛit influence.
6. Mirashi reads these figures as 100 and considers this assignable to the Kalachuri era, thus yielding the date 351-52 A.D. These figures are read as 241 by N.G. Majumdar who assigns it to the Śaka era yielding the date 319-20 A.D. (See *JASB* (N. S.) XIX 1923, pp. 337 ff; also *The Age of Imperial unity* pp. 188-89).
7. Kārttikēya also known as Subrahmanya is known as the son of Lord Śiva, born for the express purpose of exterminating the race of tyrannical ogres.
8. The same ideas are expressed in a verse written after this passage. See Text. This is an early instance of a classical metre being used in an inscription. See Nos. 76 and 175 above.

193. INSCRIPTION MENTIONING ACHANTARĀJĀCHĀRYA

<i>Date</i>	.. Date portion damaged : c. 280 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i> /Vīrapurushadatta
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Broken pillar, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Museum), Guntur District, A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XXXIV, pp. 211-12, No.IV and plate.

TEXT

..... तस संवत्सरं
गिम्ह पखं वितियं दिवसं पढमं १ [सि]रिपवते विजयपुरिय पुवदिसाभागे
विहारे चुलधंमगिरियं अचंतराजाचरियानं सकसमय परसमय¹

TEXT SANSKRITISED

..... तस्य संवत्सरे
..... ग्रीष्मपक्षे द्वितीये दिवसे प्रथमे १ श्रीपर्वते विजयपुर्याः पूर्वदि-
शाभागे विहारे क्षुद्रधर्मगिरौ अचंतराजाचार्याणां स्वकसमयपरसमय

SUMMARY

.....

The first day in the second fortnight in the summer (season)
in the regnal year ofta²

. to the preceptors of the Achantarāja (school)³ in the Smaller Dharmagiri⁴ in the monastery in the eastern part of **Vijayapurī** in the **Śrīparvata**⁵, who were (experts in the tenets of) their own religious beliefs and those of others.

NOTES

1. The inscription, also damaged abruptly stops here. The ornamented portion of the slab below this inscription suggests that the inscription might have continued in a subsequent section now lost.

2. This suggests that the king was possibly Vīrapurushadatta.

3. See No. 185 above. No details of this school is known. But there is a place called Āchanta in the Narasapuram Taluk of the West Godavari District in Andhra Pradesh.

4. For the reference to the greater Dharmagiri see No.185 above.

5. The names Vijayapurī and Śrīparvata are referred to also in No.185 above.

194. FOOT-PRINT SLAB INSCRIPTION FROM
NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 280 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone-slab with the representation of a pair of feet, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Museum), Guntur Dist., A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar and Lahiri, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXIII, pp. 247-50 and plates.

TEXT

सिधं [।*] आचरियनं थेरियानं विभजवादानं कस्मिरगंधारयवन-
वनवासतंवपनिदिपपसादकनं महाविहारवासिनं नवंगसथुससन अथव्यजन-
विनिच्छयविसरदनं अरियवंसपवेनिधरनं विहारे भगवतो पादसंघाडा
निपत्तिठपितो सवसतानं हितमुखथनाय ति ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ आचार्याणां थेरियाणां (स्थविरवादिनां) विभज्य-
वादिनां काश्मीरगान्धारयवनवनवासताम्रपर्णीद्वीपप्रसादकानां महा-
विहारवासिनां नवाङ्गशास्तृशासनार्थव्यञ्जनविनिश्चयविशारदानां आर्य-
वंशप्रवेणीधराणां विहारे भगवतः पादसंघातः निष्प्रतिष्ठापितः सर्वसत्त्वानां
हितमुखार्थनाय इति ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

A (sculpted) pair of feet of the Supreme (Buddha) was installed¹ for the welfare and happiness of all beings.

In the monastery of the Elder preceptors of the Vibhajjavāda School² residing in the great monastery, who favoured (i.e. converted the people of) Kaśmīra, Gāndhāra, Yavana, Vanavāsa and Tāmraparṇī-dvīpa³; who are adepts in fixing the meaning and the implication of the Śāstṛi's (Śāstā i.e. Buddha) nine-fold teachings⁴ and who know by heart the traditions (in dress, food, bedding and meditation) of the Buddhists.⁵

NOTES

1. Another such slab with a similar inscription with sculpture has been reported from the same place. It records the donation of a *patipadā* by a Śaka lady (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p.37). A third slab from Amaravati calls it *pādukā-paṭṭa*. The present slab bears a representation, mainly, of a wheel in the sole of the feet with a goad, serpent, *triratna*, fish and conch behind. In front are depicted two serpents, a *svastika*, Śrīvatsa, a pot and a conch. The toes bear respectively a pillar, goad, *triratna*, fish and a meditating figure. There is shown a *bōdhi* tree with an attendant holding a fly-whisk(?) in either side. For more foot-print slab inscriptions all from Amarāvati see Lüders' *List*, Nos. 1209, 1217, 1219, 1225 and 1285.

2. Vibhajja-vāda is the doctrine of analysis or the religion of logic or reason (See No. 181, note 8).

3. For the identification of the countries mentioned here see No. 185 above.

4. The nine-fold teachings are *Sutta* (sermons in prose), *Geyya* (sermons in prose and verse), *Veyyākaraṇa* (explanation or commentary), *Gāthā* (scriptures in stanzas), *Udāna* (pithy sayings), *Itivuttaka* (short speeches of the Buddha), *Jātaka* (stories of Buddha's former births), *Adbhuta-dhamma* (stories of miracles) and *Vedalla* (teachings in the form of questions and answers).

5. This section has been translated as 'who know the traditions of the (four) classes of (Buddhist) recluses by heart'. The four classes are described as recluses contented with (1) robes (2) food and (3) bedding presented to them and (4) those who delight in meditation (Sircar and Lahiri, op. cit.).

195. NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA INSCRIPTION OF
NOḌAGĪŚVARASVĀMIN

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 1 : c. 281 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i> / Ehavala Chantamūla
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar found at a site named burning ghāt, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Museum), Guntur District, A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXV, pp. 4-7, No. 1B.

TEXT

सिधं ।

नमो भगवते (तो) सवलोकमहितस [नोडगी]सरसामिस ।

महाराजस [असमेधयाजिस अनेकहिरणकोटिपदायिस] सिरिचत-
मुलस पुतस] सिरि विरपुरिसदतस पुतस रंजो
वसिठिपुतस इखाकुन सिरि एहवलचतमूलस सवछरं विज . . [म्ह] प[२]
दिव १ ।

रंजो वेजयिक अयुवधनिक च अपन सहमति[ण] सेयथ अतेपुर
महतरिकाय भगवतिय सेठिबालिकाय रतवसय विडय
भगवतो नोडगीसरसामिस देवकुलथल च कारिता अखयनीवि च कताण
मसनुमसिकस वधिस धिकसेनिय दिनारि
. [दिनारि] दस १० पनिकसेनिय दिनारि दस १० पुविकसेनिये

दिनारि दस १० [१*] एवं सेनिसु चतुसु दिनरि सत
 सर छय पर पुत
 नि वकाये सध थिक
 तरप परडिक भगफुल सठप [१*] अपना च चितनं
 कतवं [१*] एव च अकरंत सेठिपमख निगमो करयंति ॥

TEXT SANKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमो भगवते सर्वलोकमहिताय नोडगीश्वरस्वामिने ।

महाराजस्य अश्वमेधयाजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटिप्रदायिनः श्रीचन्त-
 मूलस्य पुत्रस्य श्री वीरपुरुषदत्तस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञो
 वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रोएहवलचन्तमूलस्य संवत्सरे विजये [१?]]
 ग्रीष्मपक्षे २ दिवसे १ ।

राज्ञः वैजयिके आयुर्वर्धनिके च आत्मनः सहमतिभिः तद्यथा
 अन्तःपुरमहत्तरिकायाः भगवत्याः श्रेष्ठिबालिकायाः रतवशायाः (or
 रतिवशायाः) भगवते नोडगीश्वरस्वामिने देवकुलं स्थलं
 च कारितं अक्षयनीवीं च कृत्वा मासानुमासिक्याः वृद्ध्याः
 अधिकश्रेण्यां दीनारि दीनारि दश १०
 पार्णिकश्रेण्यां दीनारि दश १० आपूपिक श्रेण्यां दीनारि दश १० । एवं
 श्रेणीषु चतसृषु दीनारिशतं तरप
 परडिक भगफुल सठप । आत्मना च चित्रणं कर्तव्यम् । एवं च अकरणे
 श्रेष्ठिप्रमुखनिगमाः कारयन्तु ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

The 1st day in the 2nd fortnight of the summer (season) in the
 1st victorious regnal year¹ of Ehavala Chantamūla, son of Vira-
 purushadatta and grandson of Chantamūla.

. . . . along with like-minded persons² such as Bhagavati, the

Superintendent of the harem and Ratavaśā, the daughter of a merchant, erected a temple along with an enclosure for the supreme (god) Noḍaḡiśvarasvāmin for the king's victory and long life.

A perpetual endowment of 100 *dināri*³, deposited for monthly interest, with four guilds including the guild of sellers or growers of (betel) leaves, the guild of confectioners⁴

..... Paraḍika, Bhagaphula and Saṭhapa.⁵ These persons themselves should arrange to decorate (the buildings). If this is not done, it may be done by a council of leading merchants.

NOTES

1. See Note 1 on No. 180 above for the interpretation of a similar passage in respect of the regnal year.

2. The name of the donatrix is lost.

3. See No. 182 above for a reference to *dinārimāshakas*.

4. A similar endowment is recorded in a fragmentary inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, where a guild of *kulikas* (artisans ?) were given 150 *dināri-māshakas* (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, p. 210, No. III and plate).

5. These same persons are mentioned in the fragmentary inscription referred to in Note 4 above.

196. INSCRIPTION OF BHARTRIDĒVĀ FROM NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 2 : 282 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Bhartridēvā/Ehavala Chantamūla
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar at the site of a monastery, Nāgārjuna-koṇḍa Museum, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. Vogel, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XX, p. 23, Ins. G and plate.

TEXT

सिधं । नमो भगवतो तेलोकधंमधुरावहस । महाराजस विरूपख-
पतिमहासेनपरिगहितस अगिहोतागिठोमवाजपेयासमेधयायिस हिरणकोटि-
गोसतसहसहलसतसहसपदाइस सवथेसु अपतिहतसंक[पस वा]सेठिपुतस
इखाकुनं सिरिचातमूलस सुन्हाय महाराजस माढरिपुतस इखाकूनं सिरि-
वीरपुरिसदतस भयय महाराजस सिरि एहुवुलचातमूलस मातुय महादेविय
भट्टिदेवाय [देयधंम] इमं विहारो सवजातनियुतो अचरियानं बहुसुतीयानं
पतिठापितो रुपुनं बुधिण रजो संवछरं . . वितियं गिम्हपखं
. . . . सुघाय ति ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमो भगवते त्रैलोक्यधर्मधुरावहाय । महाराजस्य विरू-
पाक्षपतिमहासेनपरिगृहीतस्य अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमवाजपेयाश्वमेधयाजिनः
हिरण्यकोटिगोशतसहस्रहलशतसहस्रप्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहतसंकल्पस्य

वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीचातमूलस्य स्नुषया, महाराजस्य माठरी-
पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य भार्यया, महाराजस्य श्रीएहुवुलचात-
मूलस्य मात्रा, महादेव्या भर्तृदेव्या देयधर्मः अयं विहारः सर्वजातनियुक्तः
आचार्याणां बहुश्रुतीयानां प्रतिष्ठापितः . . . बुधिन राज्ञः संवत्सरे
. . द्वितीये ग्रीष्मपक्षे : . [सर्वलोकहित] सुखाय इति ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

Salutation to the Supreme dispenser of the Law in the three worlds

Queen Bhartṛidēvā, the daughter-in-law of Chantamūla¹, the wife of Vīrapurushadatta and the mother² of Ehuvula Chantamūla [built]

This well-furnished monastery³ for the acceptance of the preceptors of Bahuśrutīya (sect)⁴.

. Budhina

The 10th day in the 4th fortnight in the 2nd regnal year of Ehuvula Chantamūla.

NOTES

1. Chantamūla is introduced as a *mahārāja* along with his usual epithets as found in the preceding numbers. Vīrapurushadatta and Ehuvula Chantamūla are introduced with the title *mahārāja* only.

2. This fact is mentioned in this inscription only. This queen does not figure in any of the inscriptions dated in the reign of her husband Vīrapurushadatta.

3. This monastery is called Dēvī-vihāra, obviously on account of the queen's construction of the same, in another inscription, almost identically phrased (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p.62 G 3). There is yet another inscription (*Ibid.*, XX, Inscription G, pp.23-24) containing the same subject matter without this name. These two bear the same date as the present one.

4. The Bahuśrutīyas were a branch of the Mahāsāṅghikas. This school attempted a syncretism of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. It classified Buddha's teachings into *supramundane* thoughts relating to transitoriness, suffering, non-existence of objects, absence of soul and the ultimate goal and into the *mundane* affairs relating to all other topics.

197. IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KHAṆḌUVULĀ

<i>Date</i>	.. C. A.D. 282
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Khaṇḍuvulā/Ehavala Chantamūla
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Pedestal of a nude female figure (broken) Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Museum), Guntur District, A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. H.K. Narasimhaswami, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XXIX, pp. 137-139 and plate.

TEXT

सिद्ध । महादेवीय अविधवाय जीवपुताय महाराजसिरि [एहवल-
चंतमु]लपति[निय] खंडुवुलाय कारिता ति [।]

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् । महादेव्या अविधवया जीवपुत्रया महाराज श्रीएहवल-
चंतमूलस्य पत्न्या खंडुवुलया कारिता इति ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

Mahādēvi Khaṇḍuvulā, whose husband is alive¹, whose children are (also) alive² and who is the wife of Mahārāja Ehavala Chantamūla set up this (the image)³.

NOTES

1. See Nos. 42 and 184 above, where this and the next expressions occur.
2. Neither the queen's metonymics is given nor is the name of her son given. Ehavala Chantamūla is known to have three queens. One is known only from the metronymic Vāsishthīputra (see No. 215 below). The other is Kṛipaṇāsrī, a Hāritī (see No. 203 below). The third is Varmabhaṭā (see No. 215 below) who belonged to the Bṛihatphalāyana-gōtra and is described as the mother (i.e. step mother) of Vāsishthīputra Rudrapurushadatta. Queen Khaṇḍuvulā may be identified with the lady mentioned first.
3. The image is that of a nude female figure in the sitting posture, with the legs wide apart. Only the lower half is preserved. The broad belt below the navel is highly decorated with rows of pearls or precious stones. The distended belly with the ornamental belt around it very much resembles the decorated full pot (*pūrṇa-ghaṭa*). This seems to be a representation of the mother goddess signifying fertility or fecundity.

198. STONE INSCRIPTION OF VASUDĒVA

<i>Date</i>	.. [Saka] 205 : A.D. 283
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Vasudēva/Bhartr̥idāman
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Śaka Kshatrapa (Kārdamaka family)
<i>Location</i>	.. Mevāsā, Kutch District.
<i>Reference</i>	.. P. R. Srinivasan, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , Vol. XXXVII No. 24 C, p. 146.

TEXT

सिद्धम् । राजो महाक्षत्रपस्य चष्टनपुत्रप्रपुत्रस्य राजो महाक्षत्रपस्य
भर्तृदाम [पुत्रप्रपुत्रस्य राजो महाक्षत्रपस्य¹] वर्षशत २०० ५ उत्रे, कदं-
वपुत्रस्य स्वतीक्ष्वप्रतस्य ? आभीरस्य हरिहिवकंदनप्तुस्य वसुदेवस्य
गुलकदहितुस्य कार्तिकस शुक्ल ५ राज्येद्वस्य भर्तुः यष्टि पुष्टये
स्थापिता लेखकम च कतं

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् । राजो महाक्षत्रपस्य चष्टनपुत्रप्रपुत्रस्य राजो महाक्षत्रपस्य
भर्तृदाम्नः वर्षशते २०५ उत्तरायां कदंवपुत्रस्य स्वतीक्ष्वप्रतस्य ?
आभीरस्य हरिहिवकंदनप्तुः वसुदेवस्य गुलकदौहित्यस्य कार्तिकस्य शुक्ल ५
राज्येद्वस्य भर्तुः यष्टिः पुष्टये . . स्थापिता । लेखकर्म च कृतं

SUMMARY

Success!

On [the day of] Uttara (star) in the year 205 [in the reign] of

king Mahākshatrpa **Bharṭṛidāman**, the great-grandson² of king, Mahākshatrpa Chasṭana.

Ābhīra Vasudēva,³ grandson of Harihivakanda, son of Kadamba and the grandson (by the daughter) of Gulaka set up this slab for the prosperity of the master (king) of the progressive kingdom on the fifth day of Kārtika.

. engraved

NOTES

1. Repeated by mistake.
2. See Genealogical table.
3. See Nos. 166 and 175 for references to two more members of the Ābhīra clan.

199. STORE-ROOM INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAŚRĪ

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 8 : c. 288 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Chandraśrī/Ehavaḷa Chantamūla
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar in a maṇḍapa site ¹ , Nāgārjunajonḍa Museum, Guntur District, A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXV, pp. 7-9, Ins, 2A-B, plate.

TEXT

सिध[१*]

महाराजस असमेधयाजिस अनेकहिरणकोटिपदायिस सिरिचं-
तमुलस पुतस महाराजस सिरिविरपुरिसदत्तस पुतस रजो वासेठीपुतस
इखाकुन सिरि एहवुलचन्तमूलस सवछर अठम गिम्हपख चवुथा दिवस
पदरस ।

सिरिपवते विजयपुरे अपरमहाविनसेलियानं महाविनसेलियानं
महानिगाये सेठिवरवढमाने कस अरियसघस सेलमडव पदिठपेति ।

भरशालं निवणय नठवेति बुधधमसंघमगलनगरवर गिरिवरनैगमवर
बहुदेयधमकारको उपासको चादसिरी च नागसिरी च . . . पियभातुको
रजो आयुवधनिक कत अपनो मातापितुनो पूजा
न पुतभरियको निमित्त स मभागं पुरतो कारापितो अप
. गमने सुखथनाय [११*]

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य अश्वमेधयाजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटिप्रदा-
यिनः श्रीचन्तमूलस्य पुत्रस्य महाराजस्य श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः

वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीएहवुलचन्तमूलस्य संवत्सरे अष्टमे ग्रीष्मपक्षे
चतुर्थे दिवसे पञ्चदशे ।

श्रीपर्वते विजयपुरे अपरमहाविनशैलीयानां महाविनशैलीयानां
महानिकाये श्रेष्ठिवरवर्द्धमाने [उपास]कस्य आर्यसंघस्य शैल-
मण्डपं प्रतिष्ठापयति भण्डारशालां निर्वाणाय निष्ठापयति ।

बुद्धधर्मसंघमंगलनगरवरगिरिवरनैगमवरवहुदेयधर्मकारकः उपा-
सकः चन्द्रश्रीः च नागश्रीः च . . . प्रियभ्रातृकः राज्ञः आयुर्वर्द्धनिकः
कृतः आत्मनः मातापित्रोः पूजा[र्थ] आत्मनः पुत्र
भार्यायाः निमित्तं म भागस्य पुरतः कारापितः
सुखार्थनाय ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

The fifteenth day in the fourth fortnight in the summer (season)
in the eighth regnal year² of Ehavula Chantamūla.

Chandraśrī....., beloved elder brother of.....and Nāgaśrī and
a lay philanthropist who has set up many endowments at various
localities such as cities, hills and market-towns for observance in
honour of the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha³ built

a stone hall and a store-room for the use of the Ārya-saṅgha
at the Vardhamāna of the chief merchant inside the great centre of
the Aparamahāvīnaśailiyas at Vijayapura in Śrīparvata for the
long life of the king, his (Chandraśrī's) parents, son and wife.

NOTES

1. Another pillar in the same site contains the same text.
2. No numerical symbols are used in this section of the text, as against their use in all other records.
3. The three entities are known as *triratna*—the three gems in Buddhist parlance requiring the unflinching adherence of the laymen, by chanting often 'Buddham śaraṇam gachchhāmi, Dharmam śaraṇam gachchhāmi and Saṅgham śaraṇam gachchhāmi' meaning 'I seek refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha'.

200. ŚIVA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF ĒLIŚRĪ

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 11: c. 291 A.D
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Ēliśrī/Ehavaḷa-Chantamūḷa
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Fragments of stone slab, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Museum), Guntur, District, A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. B. Ch. Chhabra, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXIII, pp. 147 ff and plate.

TEXT

Metres: Verse 1 *Anuṣṭubh*; Verse 2 *Sragdharā*

सिद्धम् ।

वर्ष एकादशे राज्ञः प्रभोरेहवलश्रियः ।

शुक्लपक्षस्य माघस्य पुण्य एकादशेऽहनि ॥ १ ॥

देवे यस्यातिभक्तिर्हुतवहतनये चण्डशक्तौ कुमारे

पौत्रस्सेनापतेर्यस्समरविजयिनः ख्यातकीर्त्तोरणिकेः ।

प्रासादङ्गाण्डिपुत्रस्स तलवरवरः कार्तिकेयप्रसादात्

एलिश्रीश्श्रीविशालं शुभमतिरकरोत्सर्वदेवाधिवासम् ॥ २ ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

On the 11th day in the bright fortnight in the month of Māgha in the 11th regnal year¹ of the king, lord Ēhavaḷaśrī²

Ēlīśrī³, the best among Talavaras (*talavaravara*)⁴ who is intensely devoted to Kumāra, son of Fire⁵, bearer of the fierce spear, who is the grandson of the famous commander Aṇikki and the son of Gāṇḍī, built with the grace of (god) Kārttikēya (Kumāra)

this great temple of Sarvva (god Śiva)⁶.

NOTES

1. This is the first time that we meet with this style of reckoning the date omitting the season and the number of the fortnight. The month is lunar.

2. The first part of the name of this king (Ehavaḷa Chantamūla) is written in all the Prakrit inscriptions as Ehuvala or Ehuvula or Ehavula etc. Sanskrit language does not have the short e; hence the reading Ēhavaḷa. But the writers knew the distinction between *e* and *ē* (see lines 3 in *ēvam* and *ētān*, of inscription F, plate facing p.22, *Ep. Ind.*, XX). The proper name of this king is missing in this inscription, though we are sure of his identity.

3. This, from Telugu root *ēlu*, may mean ruler or master.

4. This may really stand for *Mahātalavara* (see No. 181 above, note 5) which would not fit into the metrical line.

5. Kumāra is called the son of Fire because he was born of the fire issued out of the third eye of god Śiva.

6. The passage 'Sarvaḥ=Śarvaḥ=Śivaḥ=Sthāṇuḥ' in the *Vishṇu Sahasra-nāma* points to the deity Śiva, whose names are assigned to Vishṇu also.

201. PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KODABALIŚRĪ

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 11 : 291 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Kodabaliśrī/Ehavala Chantamūla
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar at Kōṭṭampalugu, north Nāgārjuna-koṇḍa, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Museum), Guntur Dist., A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Vogel, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XX, Ins. H, p. 24 and plate.

TEXT

सिधं । नमो भगवतो समासंबुधस [१*] महाराजस वासेठिपुतस
इखाकुनं सिरि एहुवलचा[त*]मूलस सव १० १ गि प १ दिव ७ [१*]
महाराजस अगिहोतागिधेमवाजवेजअसमेधयायिस अनेकहिरणकोटिगोस-
तसहस हलसतसहसपदायिस सवथेसु अपतिहतसंकपस वासेठिपुतस
इखाकुनं सिरिचातमूल[स*] नत्तिय महाराजस माठरिपुतस सिरि विर-
पुरिसदतस धूतुय महाराजस वासेठिपुतस इखाकुनं सिरि एहुवल चात-
मूलस भगिनिय वानवासकमहाराजमहादेविय कोदबलिसिरिय इमं खनियं
विहारो च अचरियानं महिसासकनं सुपरिगहे चातुदिसं संघं उदिसाय
सवसतानं हितसुखाथं ठापितं अचरियेन महाधंमकथिकेन धंमघोसथेरेन
अनुथितं ति ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमो भगवते सम्यक्सम्बुद्धाय । महाराजस्य वासिष्ठी-
पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीएहुवलचन्तमूलस्य संवत्सरः एकादशः ११ ग्रीष्मपक्षः

प्रथमः १ दिवसः सप्तमः ७ । महाराजस्य अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमवाजपेया-
श्वमेधयाजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटिगोशतसहस्रहलशतसहस्रप्रदायिनः सर्वा-
र्थेषु अप्रतिहतसङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीचन्तमूलस्य
नप्त्या, महाराजस्य माठरीपुत्रस्य श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य दुहित्रा, महाराजस्य
वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीएहुवलचन्तमूलस्य भगिन्या, वानवासक-
महाराजमहादेव्या, कोदवलिश्रिया इदं खनिकं विहारः च आचार्याणां
महीशासकानां सुपरिग्रहे चातुर्दिशं सङ्घम् उद्दिश्य सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थं
स्थापितौ । आचार्येण महाधर्मकथकेन धर्मघोषस्थविरेण अनुष्ठितौ इति ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

Salutations to the Supreme Buddha

The 7th day in the 1st fortnight in the summer season in the 11th regnal year of Ehuvala Chantamūla

Kodabaliśīrī, the grand daughter of Chantamūla¹, the daughter of Virapurushadatta¹, the sister of Ehuvala Chantamūla¹ and the queen of the mahārāja of Vanavāsa² set this *chaitya* (?) and the monastery.

Left in charge of the preceptors of the Mahīśāsaka (sect)³, for the benefit of the members of the *saṃgha* from all quarters and for the sake of the welfare and happiness of all beings.

Executed by the great preacher of the Law, the *Sthavira* Dhammaghōsha.

NOTES

1. The usual descriptive attributes of these kings as in the earlier records are repeated here. All the three are called 'mahārāja'.

2. It is the same as Banavāsi in North Kanara District, Karnataka. The reference is possibly to the Chuṭu-Śātakarṇi king.

3. This sect parted from the Sthaviravādin (For a complete account of the various sects see *I.H.Q.*, XXIV, p, 252).

202. MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION FOR ĒLI EHAVULADĀSAMṆAKA

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 13 : A.D. 293
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Ehavala Chantamūla
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar found at a place north of the 16 pillared maṇḍapa in Section IV of Site No. 61, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Museum, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXV, pp. 10-11, No. 3 and plate.

TEXT

सिधं । सामिस राज्रो वासेठिपुतस इखाकुस सिरिएहवुलचतमूलस
सवछर त(ते)रस[म] गीम्हणं पख पंचम ५ दिवस सतम ७ रज्रो
माढरिपुतस इखाकुणं स(सि)रि विरपूरुसदतस महिसिज(य) मह-
वलभीकाय यखीलिनिकाय पुतस महासेनपतिस कुमारस एलि एहवूलदा-
संणकस छयथंभो थापितो ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ स्वामिनः राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीएहवुल-
चन्तमूलस्य संवत्सरे त्रयोदशे ग्रीष्माणं पक्षे पञ्चमे ५ दिवसे सप्तमे ७
राज्ञः माठरीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य महिष्याः महावलभी-

कायाः यक्षित्यङ्गिकायाः पुत्रस्य महासेनापतेः कुमारस्य एलिहवुलदास-
णकस्य छायास्तम्भः स्थापितः ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

The 7th day in the fifth fortnight in the summer (season) in the 13th regnal year of Ehavula Chantamūla

This memorial pillar is set up for Kumāra Ēli¹ Ehavuladāsa-
mṇaka², the great commander and son of Yakhilīnikā (Yakshilyaṇ-
ṇikā)² of Mahāvalabhī³, the queen of Vīrapurushadatta.

NOTES

1. This is evidently connected with the Telugu root 'ēlu' to govern and recalls the word Ēlīśrī, the name of a *Mahātalavara* under Ehavala Chantamūla. See No. 199 above.

2. The Suffix *amṇaka* is met with in No. 183 above. The suffix *amṇikā* is known for the first time from the Nānēghaṭ inscription of Nāgaṇṇikā (No. 66 above).

3. Ancient Saurāshṭra (Kathiawar) was known as Valabhī, also the name of the capital of the Maitraka kings from the end of the fifth century A.D. See No. 215 below. We cannot be sure whether Mahāvalabhī was the same place or the country around.

Handwritten text in a script, likely Burmese, on a dark, heavily stained and damaged piece of paper. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines, though the right edges are irregular and torn. The ink is dark and the paper is a mottled brown/black color.

203. NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA INSCRIPTION OF PUSHPABHADRASVĀMIN

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 16 : 296 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Virapurushadatta/Ehavala Chantamūla
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone excavated at the site, Nāgārjuna-koṇḍa Museum, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar and Krishnan, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXIV, pp. 17-20 plate.

TEXT

सिद्धम् । नमो भगवते महादेवस्य पुष्पभद्रस्वामिनः¹ । महाराजस्य
वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्येहवलचंतमूलस्य संव १० ६ गि प २ दिव ५ ।
राज्ञो वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य अग्निष्टोमवाजवे (पे) याश्वमेधवहुसुवर्णकयाजिनः
नैकहिरण्यकोटिप्रदातुः गोशतसहस्रहलशतसहस्रप्रदातुः स्ववीर्यार्ज्जितवि-
जयकीर्त्तेः इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीचंतमूलस्य प्रपौत्रेना (ण) महाराज्य (ज)स्य
माठरीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां (णां) श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य पौत्त्रेण महाराजस्य
सगरदिलीपाम्बरीषयुधिष्ठिरतुल्यधर्म्मविजयस्य रामस्येव सर्वजनाभिरा-
मस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां (णां) श्यी (श्ये) हवलचंतमूलस्य पुत्रेण पुष्यकंदीयानां
महातलवरस्य स्कन्दगोपस्य नप्त्याः महातलवरस्य खंदहालस्य दुहितुः
सेसेवमागूरुकदौहित्याः उत्तरमहातलवरभागिनेय्याः राज्ञः श्येहवलचंत-
मूलस्य महिष्याः महादेव्याः कुपणश्र्याः (श्रियाः) पुत्रेण महाराज-

कुमारेण महासेनापतिना हारितीपुत्रेण इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तेन
महाराजस्य महादेव्या गोत्रस्य च विजयवैजयिके आयुर्वर्द्धने द्वयोरपि च
मातापुत्रयो[ः*]² । धर्मफलं भगवतो(तः) पुष्पभद्रस्वामिनः देवकुलं
कारितं ध्वजस्तं(भ)श्च प्रतिष्ठापितः ग्रामश्च पुडोकेडं(डम्) अक्षय-
निवी(नीवि) दत्तः ॥ श्रीकंकफल[ः*] कंकचंद्रश्च भो³[२]

SUMMARY

Success!

Salutations to the Supreme Mahādēva⁴ Pushpabhadrasvāmin.

The 5th day in the 2nd fortnight of the summer (season) in the 16th regnal year of Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī **Ehavala Chantamūla**⁵

Prince Vīrapurushadatta⁶, a Hāritīputra and a great commander erected a shrine for the deity Pushpabhadrasvāmi for the merit of his parents and for the longevity and prosperity of the two families and erected also a flagstaff.⁷ A perpetual endowment of the village Pudōkeḍam was also set up.

Kaṅkaphala and Kaṅkachandra were (the custodians of the gift).

NOTES

1. The original has Puppabhadra. See at the end of the text where the Sanskrit form is written.

2. Read पित्तोः

3. This passage was engraved separately by a different hand at a later date. The letter *k* is written with the central cross stroke fully bent on either side. The letter *bhō* is perhaps an abbreviation for *bhojika* in charge of the gift village (P.R. Srinivasan and Sankaranarayanan, *Inscriptions of the Ikshvāku Period*, 1979, No. 44).

4. The expression indicates that the deity was Śiva.

5. Note that the Prākṛit form is retained though the record is in Sanskrit.

6. The genealogy of the donor, both paternal and maternal, is reproduced here, in a tabulated form, as given in the text in a running form.

Ikshvāku family
Vāsishthīputra
Chantamūla

|
Mātharīputra
Virapurushadatta

|
Vāsishthīputra
Ehavala Chantamūla^a

==
|
Hārīputra
Virapurushadatta

Pushyakandiya family
Mahātalavara^b Sēsēba Māgūraka^c
Skandagōpa

|
Mahātalavara = daughter of Utara-
Khandahāla Mahātala
vara

|
Kupaṇaśrī

a. The record compares him with the epic heroes Sagara, Dīlpa, Ambarīsha and Yudhishtīra for his righteous rule.

b. Most of the princesses of the royal household were the wives of Mahātalaras (see No. 181 above)

c. The status of this person alone is not disclosed. Sēsēba was perhaps his name. Māgūraka may point to his nativity.

7. See No. 48 above for the practice of erecting flagstaff in front of the temples.

204. KONḌAMUḌI PLATES OF JAYAVARMAN

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 10 : c. 300 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Jayavarman
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Brīhatphālāyana
<i>Location</i>	.. Koṇḍamuḍi, Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh, now in the Government Museum, Madras.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Hultzsch, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , VI, pp. 315-19 and plate

TEXT

बम्हनानं सवगुतज* महाजनानं जनानं ८ कूदूरहारे पांटूरस
बम्हदेयस ॥

सः वः पतो विजयखंधावारा नगरा कूदूरातो महेश्वरपादपरिगहितो
बृहत्फलायनसगोतो राजा सिरिजयवंमो आनपयति कूदूरे वापतं । अंम्हे
दानि अंम्ह वेजयिके आयुवधनिके च बंम्हनानं गोतमसगोतजायापरस
सवगुतजस ८ तानवस सविगिजस असियो ३ गोगिनजस असियो ३
कोडिनसगोतस भवंनजस असियो बे २ भारदायस रुदवेन्हुजस अंसि दिवढा
कंन्हायनस ईसरदतजस असि दिवढा ओपमंनवस रुदघोसजस अंसि १
कोसिकसगोतस खंदरुदजस अंसिका[द्धा] च जनानं ८ अंसियो २० ४
कातुन कूदूरहारे गामं पांटूरं बंम्हदेयं ददाम ।

एतंसि तं गाम पाटूरबंम्हदेयं कातून ओंयपापेहि । एतस चस गामस
पांटूरस बंम्हदेयं कातून परिहारे वितराम ।

अपापेसं अनोमसं अलोनखादकं अरठसंविनयिकं सबजातपारिहारिकं च । एतेहि नं परिहारेहि परिहराहि । एतं चसिं गामं पाटूरं बंम्हदेयं कातून एथ निबंधापेहि । अविनेन आनतं । सयं छतो । सिरि अठ सता विजयो दतो । पटिका ।

संव १० हे प १ दिव १ महातगिवरेन महादंडनायकेन भापहान-
वंमेन कटति ।

(Seal) बृहत्फलायनसगोत्रस्य महाराजश्रीजयवर्मणः ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

ब्राह्मणानां सर्वगुप्तार्यमहाजनानां जनानां ८ कूदूराहारे पाटूरस्य
ब्रह्मदेयस्य ॥

..... विजयस्कन्धावारात् नगरात् कूदूरतः महेश्वरपादपरि-
गृहीतः बृहत्फलायनसगोत्रः राजा श्रीजयवर्मा आज्ञापयति कूदूरे व्यापृतम् ।
अस्माभिः इदानीम् अस्मद्वैजयिके आयुर्वर्द्धनिके च ब्राह्मणानां गौतमसगोत्र-
जायापरस्य सर्वगुप्तार्यस्य ८, तानव्यस्य संविगिआर्यस्य अंशाः ३, गो-
नार्यस्य अंशाः ३, कौण्डिन्यसगोत्रस्य भवन्नार्यस्य अंशौ द्वौ २, भारद्वाजस्य
रुद्रविष्ण्वार्यस्य अंशः अर्धोनद्वयम्, काष्णायनस्य ईश्वरदत्तार्यस्य अंशः
अर्धोनद्वयम्, औपमन्यवस्य रुद्रघोषार्यस्य अंशः १, कौशिकसगोत्रस्य
स्कन्दरुद्रार्यस्य अंशः अर्धम् च जनानां ७ अंशाः २४ कृत्वा कूदूराहारे
ग्रामं पाटूरं ब्रह्मदेयं ददामः । एतस्मात् तं ग्रामं पाटूरं ब्रह्मदेयं कृत्वा
अवयवीकुरु ।

एतस्य चास्य ग्रामस्य पाटूरस्य ब्रह्मदेयं कृत्वा परिहारं वितरामः ।
अप्रावेश्यं अनावमर्श्यं अलवणखादकं अराष्ट्रसांविनयिकं सर्वजातिपारि-
हारिकं च । एतैः एनं परिहारैः परिहरत एतं च ग्रामं पाटूरं ब्रह्मदेयं कृत्वा
अत्र निवन्धय ।

उक्तेन आजप्तम् । स्वयं क्षतम् । श्रीः अर्थः सत्ता विजयो दत्ताः ।
पट्टिका ॥

संवत् १० हेमन्तपक्षे १ दिवसे १ महातगिवरेण महादण्डनायकेन
भापहानवर्मणा कृता ॥

(Seal) बृहत्फलायनसगोत्रस्य महाराजश्रीजयवर्मणः

SUMMARY

(This is the order in respect of) the *brahmadēya* Pāṇṭūra in Kūdūra district granted to 8 people—the brāhmaṇas led by Sarvaguptārya¹

(Issued) from the victorious camp at the town Kūdūra

The illustrious king **Jayavarman** of the spiritual lineage of Bṛihatphalāyana² orders his official at Kūdūra³ (as follows):

We have (now) given the village Pāṇṭūra⁴ in Kūdūra district for our victory and long life as a *brahmadēya* to the brāhmaṇas (as below)

Sarvaguptārya, a householder, of the Gautama <i>gōtra</i>	8	shares
Samvigiārya of the Tānavya (<i>gōtra</i>)	3	„
Gōginārya	3	„
Bhavannārya of the Kauṇḍinya <i>gōtra</i>	2	„
Rudravishṇvārya of the Bhāradvāja (<i>gōtra</i>)	1½	„
Īśvaradattārya of the Kārshṇāyana (<i>gōtra</i>)	1½	„
Rudraghōshārya of the Āupamanyava (<i>gōtra</i>)	1	„
Skandarudrārya of the Kauśika <i>gōtra</i>	½	„
(In all) 24 shares to 8 people ⁵ .		

Separate that village (from the district) making it a *brahmadēya*. We grant (all) immunities⁶ befitting a *brahmadēya*. Let it be free from being entered, from being meddled with, free from (government claims for) diggings for salt and from government control, with all kinds of immunities. Also prepare a charter to this effect. Issued by oral order. Signed by the king himself⁷.

Fortune, wealth, power and victory (are) given (by the donees).

This set of plates was prepared on the 1st day in the 1st fortnight of the winter (season) in the 10th year by the great general (*Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*) Bhāpahānavarman, the best among the Mahātagis⁸.

On the seal

(The seal) of the Mahārāja the illustrious Jayavarman of the Bṛihatphalāyana *gōtra*.

NOTES

1. This set of plates consists of eight copper sheets, with a hole cut in the upper left corner for the ring to pass through. All plates bear writing on both sides. The outer face of the first plate contains what may be considered as the title of the charter. The inner side of the first plate and the first side of all other plates bear the numerals 1-8 in the left margin.

2. See No. 215 where the Kshatrapa queen of the Ikshvāku ruler is said to have belonged to the same *gōtra*.

3. Kūdūra is probably the same as Gūdūru, north-west of Masulipatṇam in Andhra Pradesh.

4. Pāḍḍūru in Masulipatṇam Taulk in Krishna District.

5. The total is 20 1/2 shares only. Probably 3 1/2 shares were set aside for the community in the village or to the local temple.

6. See No. 130 where similar immunities are referred to.

7. This is perhaps a reference to the seal which is a sign of royal approval.

8. Hultzsch suggests that *Mahātagivara* in the text may be a mistake for *Mahātalavara* which occurs in the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus.

205. MAUKHARI YŪPA INSCRIPTION

<i>Date</i>	.. 3rd century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Dhanutrāta
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone pillar, Baḍvā, former Kotah State, Rajasthan
<i>Reference</i>	.. Altekar, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XXIV, pp. 251-253 and plate.

TEXT

Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*

मोखरेर्हस्तिपुत्रस्य धनुत्त्रातस्य धीमतः ।

अप्तोर्यग्मिणः क्रतोर्यूपः सहस्रगवदक्षिणः¹ ॥

SUMMARY

This is the commemorative pillar (*yūpa*) of the Aptōryāma² sacrifice performed by the wise Dhanutrāta, son of Hastin of the Maukhari³ (clan): a sacrificial fee of a thousand cows (was given on the occasion).

NOTES

1. The original reads: सहस्रो गवदक्षिणा
2. See No. 106 above, note 4.
3. cf. No. 173 above.

206. BIJAYAGARH INSCRIPTION OF THE YAUDHĒYAS

<i>Date</i>	.. 3rd century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i> / Yaudhēyas
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Bijayagarh near Bayānā, Bharatpur District, Rajasthan
<i>Reference</i>	.. Fleet, <i>C.I.I.</i> , III (old), 1888, No. 58, p. 250 and plate.

TEXT

सिद्धम्¹ यौधेयगणपुरस्कृतस्य महाराज महासेनापतेः पु
. ब्राह्मणपुरोगं चाधिष्ठानं शरीरादिकुशलं पृष्ट्वा लिखत्यस्ति
रस्मा

SUMMARY

Success!

. . . (gift made by a person related to) the Mahārāja, the great general respected (as the leader) by the Yaudhēyas writes after soliciting the welfare of the settlement led by the Brāhmaṇas.

NOTE

1. The inscription is fragmentary. This is yet another link establishing the survival of the Yaudhēyas upto the times of the Guptas when they were completely subjugated. See Nos. 55, 162, 211 and 212.

207. BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION FROM GHAṆṬASĀLA

<i>Date</i>	.. 3rd century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Buddhisiri/
<i>Dynasty</i>	..
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar, Ghaṇṭasāla, Krishna District, A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. J.Ph. Vogel, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XXVII, pp. 1-4 and plate

TEXT

सिधं । उखसिरिवधमाने कंटकसोलवथवेन धंमवानियपुतेन बुधि-
सिरिगृहपतिना इम सेलमण्डपो सगंधकुडिवेतिकतोरणो कारितो ति ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ उखश्रीवर्द्धमाने कण्टकशोलवास्तव्येन धर्मवाणिज्यपुत्रेण
बुद्धिश्रीगृहपतिना अयं शैलमण्डपः सगन्धकुटीवेदिकतोरणः कारितः इति ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

This stone hall with a chamber enshrining vestiges¹ of the Buddha, a railing and an arch was constructed at Ukhasiri-var dhama² by the householder Buddhisiri, son of the merchant Dharma and a resident of Kaṇṭakasōla.³

NOTES

1. These may be an image or a casket containing relic of Buddha.
2. This was probably the name of the locality (Sanskrit ऋक्षश्री) where the ruins including this pillar are found.
3. See No. 185 above for another reference to this place which is the same as Ghaṇṭasāla.

208. ĀYAKA INSCRIPTION FROM GHAṆṬASĀLA

<i>Date</i>	.. 3rd century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmi
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Siddhārthamitrā/. . . .
<i>Dynasty</i>	..
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar, Ghaṇṭasāla, Krishna District, A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. J.Ph. Vogel, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XXVII, pp. 1-4

TEXT

गृहपतिनो सवरस पुतस महानाविकस सिवकस भारियय घरनिय
उत्तरदतय सिधथमितय सपतिकाय सदुहुतकाय समितामचाय अयकथभ
देयधम ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

गृहपतेः शबरस्य पुत्रस्य महानाविकस्य शिवकस्य भार्यायाः गृहिण्याः
उत्तरदुहितुः सिद्धार्थमित्रायाः सपतिकायाः सदुहितृकायाः समित्रामात्यायाः
आयकस्तम्भः देयधर्मः ॥

SUMMARY

This *āyaka* pillar¹ is the pious gift of the housewife Siddhārthamitrā, daughter of Uttara and the wife of the master-mariner Śivaka, son of the householder Śabara, together with her husband, her daughter, her friends and companions.

NOTE

1. Pillar intended to be placed in the entrance pavilion.

209. BRITISH MUSEUM CRYSTAL INTAGLIO OF AVARIGHSA¹

<i>Date</i>	.. 3rd century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Avarighsa
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. British Museum ² , London, United Kingdom
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXVI, pp. 275-84 and plate.

TEXT

श्रीमहाराजावरिघ्सस्य वामरतनायम³ ।

SUMMARY

This is the beautiful jewel of the illustrious Mahārāja Avarighsa.⁴

NOTES

1. The lower part of the intaglio contains the inscription and the upper part depicts the king against an arched window, the sill of which bears a pattern of a series of interwoven crosses slantingly placed with the end of one touching the beginning of another. The oval-designed arch rests on Garuḍa columns at either end. The royal figure is shown with face in profile. The right arm rests on the upper right waist and the left arm bending with its elbow resting on the Garuḍa. The hair on the head is long and profuse, its ends being curled up. A diadem is found tied behind the head with its two ends flying over the king's back. The ear, neck, arm and wrists bear ornaments.

2. The exact findspot of the object is not known. But Sircar holds the view that it must have come from a region about the central areas of North India not very far away from East Malwa.

3. It is suggested that the intended reading may be °vāma-ratnam-idam (G.S. Gai, op.cit., note 2).

4. The writing is in the negative suggesting that this is the mould or matrix to be used for stamping with positive writing. Cf. *CII*, III (old ed), No. 78 pp. 283 ff and plate.

210. ABOTTABAD INSCRIPTION OF SHĀPHARA

<i>Date</i>	.. 3rd century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Shāphara/Kadambēśvaradāsa
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Slab, Abottabad, Hazara District, North-west Frontier Province, Pakistan.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XXX, pp. 59 ff and plate.

TEXT

स २० ५ मार्गशिर दि प्रथ कारितोय कुमारस्थानं गशूरण मक-
पुत्रेण षाफरेण महाराज कदम्बेश्वरदासराज्ये दठसक ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

संवत् २५ मार्गशिर दिवसे प्रथमे कारितमिदं कुमारस्थानं गशूरेण
मकपुत्रेण षाफरेण महाराज कदम्बेश्वरदासराज्ये दठसके ॥

SUMMARY

This temple for Kumāra¹ was constructed by Shāphara², son of Maka of the Gaśūra (clan) on the first day of the Mārgaśira month in the year 25 at Daṭhasaka³ in the kingdom of Mahārāja Kadambēśvaradāsa.

NOTES

1. The name Kumāra obviously denotes the deity Subrahmanya or Kārtti-kēya.

2. The names Shāphara, Maka and Gaśūra are apparently foreign names. The name Shāphara reminds us of the well-known Pahlavi name Shāhpūhre (Shāpur) borne by three Sassanian emperors who ruled respectively in 241-72, 310-70 and 383-88 A.D. The name Maka is possibly connected with the Scythian name Moga (see Nos. 60-62).

3. The location of this place is unknown. There is no trace of any temple in the area around Abottabad.

211. CLAY SEAL OF THE YAUDHĒYAS-1

<i>Date</i>	.. Beginning of the 4th century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Sunet near Ludhiana, Punjab.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Allan, <i>CCAI</i> , p.clii and plate.

TEXT

यौधेयानां जयमंत्रधराणां¹ ।

SUMMARY

(The seal) of the Yaudhēyas, masters of the hymns leading to victory.

NOTE

1. Besides the legend, the seal has the device of a humped bull moving to right. See Nos. 55, note 2; 162, 212.
-

212. CLAY SEAL OF THE YAUDHĒYAS-2

<i>Date</i>	.. Beginning of the 4th century A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Gurukul Jajihar, Rohtak District, Haryana
<i>Reference</i>	.. Bhagavendeva Acharya, <i>Vīrabhūmi Harayāṇā</i> , pp. 147-51, plate III.

TEXT

. रपति यौधेयजनपदप्रकृता नाकानगर ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

वीरपति¹ यौधेयजानपदप्रकृता नाकनगरी ॥

SUMMARY

“The heaven-like city² (created by) the exertion of the heroic Yaudhēya people (*Janapada*)³”

NOTES

1. Thaplyal (*Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, pp. 20-21) suggests that the legend begins with the letter *vi* yielding the meaning hero or heroic as translated here.

2. This is probably Bahudhānyaka referred to in No. 55.

3. This term *janapada* has often been understood to stand for a self-governing tribal republic. See Nos. 55, note 2; 162 and 211.

213. BUDDHA RELIEF INSCRIPTION FROM NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 24 : 304 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit influenced by Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Kumāranandi/Ehavala Chantamūla
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Sculptured frieze slab, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Museum), Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XXXV, pp. 11-12 and plate.

TEXT

सिद्धम् सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य इक्ष्वाकूनां(णां) श्रीएहवल-
चन्तमूलस्य सम्बत्सरं चतुर्विंशं वर्षपक्षं चतुर्थं दिवसं पञ्चमं¹ श्रीपर्वते
विजयपू(पु)र्या महादेवीपरिवे[णे] इरु[सका?]नां कुलप्रसूतस्य वरण-
कीयानां इ(ई)श्वरदत्तस्य पुत्रेण स्यन्दकपर्वत श्रेष्ठिना कुमारनन्दिना
सह भर्याय श्रेष्ठिनीय²पुत्रेण च ईश्वर भर्तिना³ शेषेण च स्वजनसम्बन्धि-
वर्गोण इयं भगवतोः (तः) सत्वं(र्वं)सत्त्वो(त्त्वो)त्तमस्य सर्व्वगुण-
पारमि प्राप्तस्य सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य बुद्धस्य शैलमयी प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता
आत्मणः(नः) सर्व्वसत्त्वा(त्त्वा)नाञ्च हितसुखार्थं(र्थम्) ॥ भवति
चात्र श्लोका(कः) ।

देयधर्ममिदं (मं) कृत्वा यत्पुण्यं समुपाज्जितं (तम्)⁸ ।

तेन पुण्येण(न) लोकोयं निर्व्वणिमधिगच्छतु ॥ १ ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

[On] the fifth day in the fourth fortnight of the rainy season in the twentyfourth regnal year of Mahārāja **Ehavaḷa-Chantamūla**⁴

Kumāranandi, a merchant of Syandaka hill, the son of Īśvara-datta of the Baraṇakīya group in the Irusaka clan, along with his wife, son Īśvarabharṭṛi and other relatives set up the stone image (sculptured frieze)⁵ of the supreme Buddha, the best among all beings, the perfect in all virtues and well enlightened

in the 'Queen's apartment'⁶ at **Vijayapuri** in **Śrīparvata**⁷ for the welfare and happiness of himself and all beings. Here also is a maxim:⁸

May this world attain emancipation due to the merit earned by this pious act!

NOTES

1. Read संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे वर्षापक्षे चतुर्थे दिवसे पञ्चमे
2. Read भार्यया श्रेष्ठिन्या
3. Read ईश्वरभर्त्रा or °भट्टिना
4. His genealogy is not given here as in the case of some other records.
5. The stone bears the representations of four principal incidents (such as birth, renunciation, enlightenment and emancipation) in Buddha's life each carved in deep relief within circles, and each flanked by the figures of couples (*mithuna*) in rectangular panels. The inscription is engraved in a single line below the entire frieze running to about eight feet. R. Subrahmanyam suggests that the image refers to the one that might have been installed on a platform at the edge of which this slab was set up (*Indian Epigraphy-Its bearing on the History of Art*, Oxford and IBH, Ed. Asher & Gai, 1985, pp.26-27 and plate 30).
6. The apartment built for the residence of Buddhist monks by a queen whose identity is not disclosed.
7. See No. 185 above for the identification of these two places.
8. This verse is in *anushṭubh* metre. This is the earliest instance of a benedictory verse at the end of the record, in Indian Epigraphy, being the forerunner of the ending verses of such nature in later inscriptions.

**214. SANSKRIT BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION FROM
NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA**

<i>Date</i>	.. Circa 305 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Sanskrit (verse)
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Broken pillar ¹ , Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Museum, Guntur Dist., A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXV, pp. 17-18 and plate.

TEXT

Metres: Verse 8 *Pañchachāmara*; verses 9-10 *Vamśastha*.

..... मुख्यपाचका उकाह्वये ॥ ८ ॥
..... समण्डपस्तम्भशताधिकोज्ज्वलः ।
..... जितात्मनानेन धृतो धृतात्मना ॥ ९ ॥
..... शोभने विहारमुख्ये विगतज्वरालये ।
..... निवेशिता विहारवाहा विपुलार्थ-
काङ्क्षिणा ॥ १० ॥

SUMMARY

.....

[Arrangement was made to employ] chief cooks at the place
called Uka.

An illuminated hall with more than hundred pillars and a wing for the building of the chief monastery with a shrine for Buddha who is devoid of passions (i.e., of all afflictions) were established by a person, self-possessed and firm-minded and who aspires for salvation.²

NOTES

1. The extant text represents the right lower portion of the slab on which it is engraved. The entire matter for the first fifteen lines and the left half of the last five lines are lost.

2. This inscription in Sanskrit, although Buddhistic in nature, belongs to a period contemporaneous with Ehavala Chantamūla whose reign witnessed the first use of Sanskrit in the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus.

215. MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION FOR VARMABHAṬĀ

<i>Date</i>	.. Regnal year 11 : c. 316 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>	.. Rudrapurushadatta
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. Ikshvāku
<i>Location</i>	.. Sculptured pillar, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Museum), Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar and Krishnan, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XXXIV, pp. 20-22 and plate.

TEXT

महाराजस असमेधयाजिस अनेकहिरन्तकोडिगोसतसहस्रहलसतसहस-
पदायिस स्वामिसिरिचन्तमूलस पसुन्हाय महाराजस स्वामिसिरिविरपुरि-
सदतस्य सुन्हाय महाराजस स्वामिसिरियेहवल¹चन्तमूलस पत्तीय रज्रो
वासिठीपुत्तस इक्वाकून् सिरि रुडपुरिसदतस मातूय महादेविय महाखतप-
धूतूय वहफलसगोताय सिरिवंमभटाय संवछरं एक्कारं १० १ वासापखं
पथमं १ दिवसं अठमं ८ सगगताय छायखंभो ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

महाराजस्य अश्वमेधयाजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटिगोशतसहस्रहलशत-
सहस्रप्रदायिनः स्वामि श्रीचन्तमूलस्य प्रसुन्षायाः महाराजस्य स्वामि
श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य स्नुषायाः महाराजस्य स्वामि श्रीएहवलचन्तमूलस्य
पत्न्याः राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीरुद्रपुरुषदत्तस्य मातुः महादेव्याः

महाक्षत्रपदुहितुः बृहत्फलायनसगोत्रायाः श्रीवर्मभटायाः संवत्सरे एकादशे
११ वर्षापक्षे प्रथमे १ दिवसे अष्टमे च स्वर्गगतायाः छायास्तम्भः ॥

SUMMARY

This is the memorial pillar² for queen Varmabhaṭā of Bṛihat-phala (or Bṛihatphalāyana) gōtra, the grand daughter-in-law of Śrī Chantamūla, the daughter-in-law of Śrī Virapurushadatta, the consort of Sri Ehavala³ Chantamūla, the mother of king Vāsishṭhiputra⁴ Rudrapurushadatta⁵ and the daughter of Mahākshatrapa, who died [on] the 8th day in the 1st fortnight of the rainy season in the 11th regnal year of Rudrapurushadatta.

NOTES

1. The spelling of this word commencing with the consonant yē as against the vowel e in the previous records may be noted.

2. The usual invocatory expressions Siddham is missing. But see No. 216, which is also a memorial pillar record, where Siddham occurs.

The pillar bears on the space above the inscription, a sculptured representation, in bas-relief, of a stately lady on a high seat with feet resting on a step attended by two females, one standing opposite and another sitting nearby. The lady's extended right hand holds a mirror. The lady has an upper garment covering her breast and a long scarf covering her right shoulder and upper right arm and also her left forearm. Her dress suggests her foreign origin.

3. The ruling king's predecessors are assigned the typical title, *Svāmi* (lord), of the contemporary Kshatrapa family.

4. The metronymic suggests that Rudrapurushadatta is described as the son of a lady of the Vasishṭha-gōtra (i.e. Vāsishṭhi). But Varmabhaṭā of the Bṛihatphalagōtra is said to be his mother, by courtesy. She was evidently his step-mother.

5. The king's name given as Ruḍapurisadatta in Prākṛit is spelt as Ruḷa° (not Ruḷu- *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp.123-5 and plate) in his inscription of the 4th regnal year from Gurzala only a few miles to the east of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, which refers to the deity Halāmpurasvāmin.

216. MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION FOR CHANTAPULA

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 317 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>	..
<i>Location</i>	.. Pillar discovered at the site of the gate of the citadel, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Museum, Guntur Dist., A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Ep.Ind.</i> , XXXV, pp. 13-14, Ins.6A, plate.

TEXT

सिधं । खंधावारान ओखंधकस अमितजनस दपदमनस ओलवकुहथि-
गाहकस महासेनापतिस कुलहकानं सिरिचंतपुलस छायाथभो ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

सिद्धम् ॥ स्कन्धावाराणां अवस्कदकस्य अमितजनस्य दर्पदमनस्य
ओलवकुहस्तिग्राहकस्य महासेनापतेः कुलहकानां श्रीचन्तपुलस्य छाया-
स्तम्भः ॥

SUMMARY

Success!

The memorial pillar for Śrī Chantapula¹ of the Kulahaka² family, the great commander of the army who subdued the enemies by destroying their arrogance and camps and who captured the wicked elephant i.e., Olaba.³

NOTES

1. It is possibly a variant of Chantamūla.
2. This name is mentioned in another inscription (*Ep.Ind.*, XX, Ins. B4 p. 18) from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.
3. The identity of this person who is likened to a wicked elephant is not disclosed.

217. MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION FOR A SOLDIER

<i>Date</i>	.. Date lost : c. 317 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>	.. [Ikshvāku]
<i>Location</i>	.. Broken pillar, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Museum, Guntur Dist., A.P.
<i>Reference</i>	.. Sircar, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXIV, pp. 209-10 and plate.

TEXT

.. गरण¹ वथवस कुलपुतस [म]रबान राजमिसिरि कुलकस
दमसमकस पुत सिसबस पेरमाडि भडस पडितस छायाथंभो ॥

TEXT SANSKRITISED

[म]ंगलारण्यवास्तव्यस्य कुलपुत्रस्य मरबाणां राजमिश्रीकुलकस्य
धर्मशर्मकस्य पुत्रसिसबस्य पेरमाडि भटस्य पातितस्य छायास्तम्भः ॥

SUMMARY

[This is] the memorial pillar erected for Sisaba² a soldier under Permāḍi, son of noble Dharmśarmaka, a resident of Maṅgalāraṇya, belonging to the Rājamiśrī family, of the Maraba clan, who was killed (in battle).³

NOTES

1. Read मंगलरण. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, pp. 15-16.
2. This name recalls that of Seseba-Māgūruka in No. 203 above.
3. This inscription is only one of the many such records erected for a great commander (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, p. 14, Ins. 6A); for soldiers of a general (*ibid.*, p. 16, Ins. 6 B III); for foreman of the artisans (*ibid.*, p. 16 Ins. 6 C I); for a soldier, the favourite of the governor of a district (*ibid.*, p. 15, Ins. 5 B I) etc.

218. MEMORIAL PILLAR INSCRIPTION FOR
SUDARŚAGŌNA

<i>Date</i>	.. c. 320 A.D.
<i>Script</i>	.. Brāhmī
<i>Language</i>	.. Prākṛit
<i>Donor/King</i>
<i>Dynasty</i>
<i>Location</i>	.. Stone pillar, Gaṅgapērūru, Cuddappah District, Andhra Pradesh
<i>Reference</i>	.. P. R. Srinivasan, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , XXXVI, pp. 207-8 and plate.

TEXT

. रर आचरियनं पुतस सुदसगोनस सिवदासगोगहणे सगामे सग-
गतस छायखभो ।

TEXT SANSKRITISED

. रर आचार्याणां पुत्रस्य सुदर्शगोनस्य शिवदास-गोग्रहणे संग्रामे
स्वर्गतस्य छायास्कम्भः ॥

SUMMARY

This is the figure-bearing memorial pillar for Sudarśa-Gōna, son of . . . āchārya in a battle which ensued the capture of cattle by Śivadāsa¹.

NOTE

1. This has been interpreted as 'pillar for Sivadasa of Bhāradvāja-gōtra' on the basis of the reading 'Bharada(ya)- sagōtasa Sivadasa (sa)' by D.C. Sircar (*Indian Museum Bulletin*, I, No.2, July 1966, pp.51-2 and plate). An additional word *thavi* also has been read below the last word by him. These readings are not supported by the facsimile.

GENEALOGY OF DYNASTIES

[Names (of kings or queens) bearing a star mark indicate that inscriptions of their times (or mentioning them) are included in this volume. The general numbers are given thereunder]

Maurya Dynasty

Chandragupta (324-300 B.C.)

|
Bindusāra (300-273 B.C.)

|
Aśōka* (273-236 B.C.)
(Coronation c. 269 B.C.)
(Nos. 1-35)

|
⋮
Daśaratha* (220 B.C.)
(No. 36)

|
Samprati

|
Śatadhanvā

|
Brīhadratha (187 B.C.)

Kushāṇa Dynasty

Kujula Kadphises I

|
Wema Kadphises II* (55-75 A.D.)
(No. 83)

|
Kanishka I* (78-102 A.D.)
(Nos. 84, 86-96, 105)

|
Vāsishka* (102-107 A.D.)
(Nos. 107, 111)

|
Kanishka II (119 A.D.)
(No. 113)

|
Huvishka* (103-138 A.D.)
(Nos. 108, 110, 112, 116,
122-125, 128)

|
Vāsudēva I* (139-179 A.D.)
(Nos. 133, 136, 138, 139,
152)

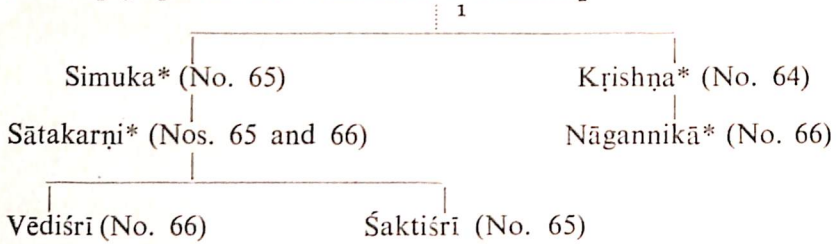
|
Kanishka III¹ (180-210 A.D.)

|
Vāsudēva II¹ (210-230 A.D.)

1. Known only from Coins.

Sātavāhana Dynasty

[It has been indeed difficult to reconcile the genealogies given in the *Vāyu*, the *Matsya*, the *Vishu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* with Epigraphical and Numismatic evidence]



[followed by, according to the *Purāṇas*, *Pūrṇōtsaṅga*, *Skandas-tambhī*, *Sātakarṇi*, *Lambōdara*, *Āpilaka*, *Mēghasvāti*, *Svāti*, *Skandasvāti*, *Mṛigēndra-Svātikarṇa*, *Kuntala-Svātikarṇa*, *Svātikarṇa*, *Pulomāvi*, *Ārishtakarṇa*, *Hāla*, *Mantalaka*, *Purikashēna*, *Sundara-sātakarṇi*, *Chakora-sātakarṇi*, *Sivasvāti*]²

Gautamīputra-Sātakarṇi* (106-130 A.D.)
(Nos. 119 and 130)

Vāsishthīputra-Pulumāvi (130-159 A.D.)
(Nos. 131-2, 134, 137, 142)

Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi (160 A.D.)
(Nos. 143, 144)

Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi (174-202 A.D.)
(Nos. 157, 158)

Pulumāvi (202-225 A.D.)
(Nos. 165, 167)

Vijaya-Sātakarṇi (226-230 A.D.) (No. 170)

Chaṇḍasati (230-241 A.D.) (No. 174)

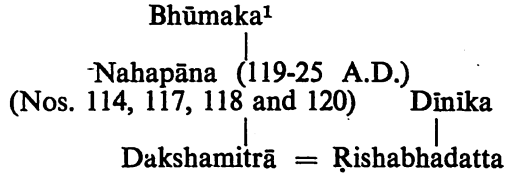
Śivaśrī-Pulumāvi (245 A.D.) (No. 178)

1. A straight vertical line indicates the father-son relationship. A dotted line points to an uncertain relationship or the possibility of more than one ruler between the two.

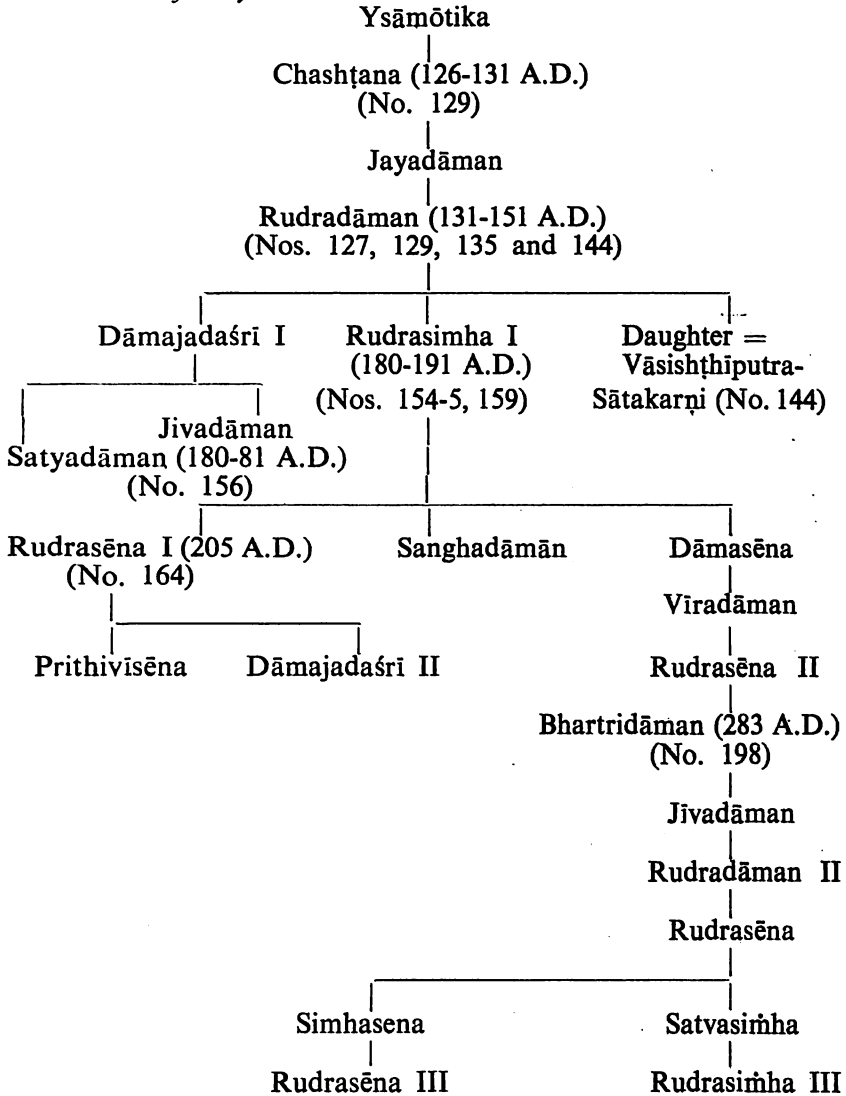
2. Some of these kings like *Āpilaka*, *Svāti* (Svāti) etc., are known only from coins (I.K. Sarma *Coinage of the Satavāhana Empire*. s.v.)

Kshatrapa Dynasty

Kshaharāta family



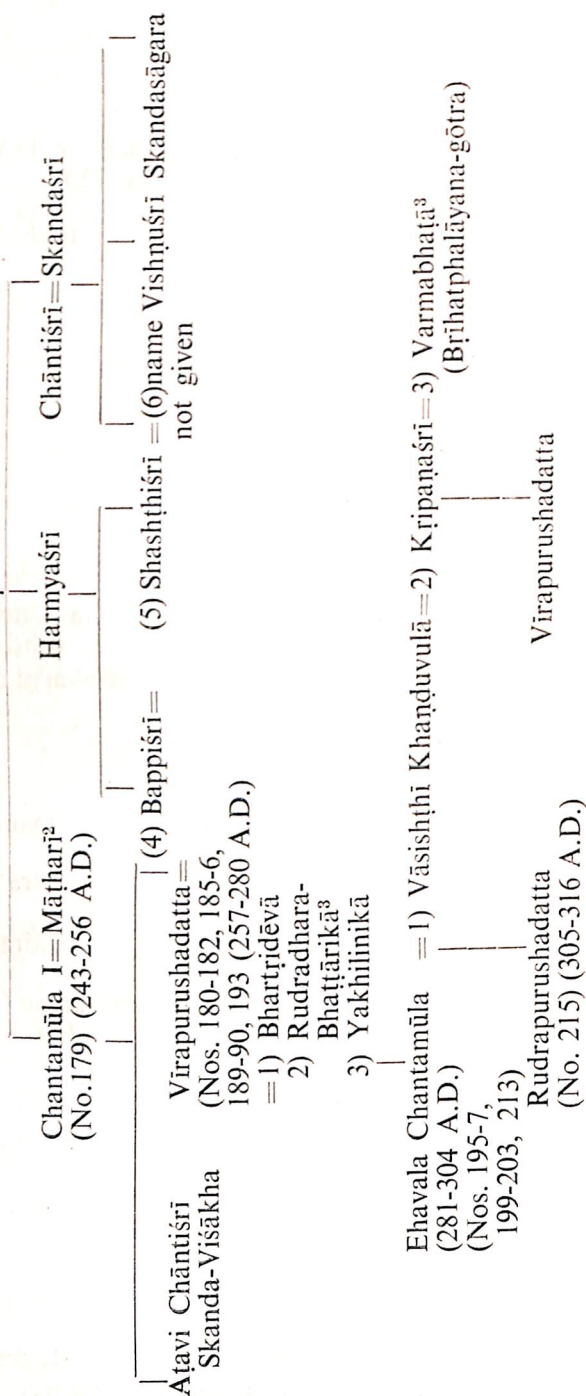
Kārdamaka family



1. Kings for whom numbers of inscriptions are not given are known from coins.

Ikshvāku Dynasty

. . . . = Vāsishṭhī¹



1. This is the *gōtra* name of the lady known from her son's epithet Vāsishṭhiputra.

2. There were many queens whose names are given in No. 180, which, however, cannot be distinguished among other names which include also those of his sisters and mothers (see No. 180, note 3).

3. Both these ladies were princesses of the royal house of the Mahāshatrapas of Ujjain.

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- 45 " " No. 920
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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- page
- xliv Read *monasteries* for *monasteris*
- 4 Read *restored* for *resorted*
note 8 omit *Gujarrā*
- 7 Note on Upuñitha-vihāra: An inscription on a stone umbrella discovered from the excavated site near the Aśōkan edict states that a parasol was donated by Pausa (Pushyā),, Dhamarakhita (Dharmarakshitā) and Arahā (Arhanti), the female pupils of Koramikā. The inscription is in Prākṛit language and Brāhmi characters of the 2nd century B. C. It seems to point to the existence of an establishment, probably identical with this monastery (See *Ep. Ind.* XL, pp. 119-20 and plate).
- 18 Read *Kāraikkāḍu* for *karaikkaḍu*
- 21 Read अनारम्भो for अनरम्भो
- 29 Read *be* for *by*
under 'Reference'
,, *p. 64* for *p. 54*
Note on the word *sayamō*:—Other versions read *samavāyō* meaning 'coming together'
- 40 ,, *pāshaṇḍa* for *pārshada*
- 46 ,, *Tāmrāparaṇī* for *Tamraparṇī*
,, *Andhras* for *Āndhras*
- 59 ,, *Aramaic* for *Aramic*
Add after note 1, 'in this volume'
- 91 ,, इति for इपि
- 104 ,, संवर्गीयेभ्यः for संवर्गीयानां

page

- Read दिन ससम for दिनस । सम
- 108 „ *Śrīmati* for *Śrīmān*
- 114 note 3 delete note
- „ *Sculptor* for *Sculpture*
- 120 „ *representation* for *respresentation*
- 122 „ ‘*on the pedestal*’ for ‘*of the pedestal*’
- 161 „ *bhagavatō āchāryasya* for *bhagavate āchāryāya*
- 181 „ *bhagini* for *bhāgini*
- 191 „ *gāvā* for *vāgā*
- 296 „ प्रणाड्या for प्रनाड्या
- 408 „ वधते for वर्धते
- 414 „ 279-80 for 278-79
- 415 „ *celestial* for *celestral*
- 434 „ नप्ल्या for नप्रया
- 435 „ इक्ष्वाकूणां for इक्ष्वाकूणां
- 439 „ *Uttara* for *Utara*
- 441 „ अनरमर्ष्य for अनावमर्ष्य
- „ ब्राह्मणानां for ब्राह्मणानां
- 451 Read *Naurangabad, Bhiwani District* for *Gurukul Jajjhar, Rohtak District*
- „ *Bhagawan Deva* for *Bhagavendeva*
- „ °रहत for °रपति
- Add under summary ‘people of Rohita (i.e. Rohtak), Delete matter under Note 1 and read Devendra Handa, *JESI*, XV, pp. 81-85. The reading Rahata was probably intended for Rōhita’.
- 462 Read *Vishṇu* for *Vish u.*

INDEX

Concordance of Prākṛit and Sanskrit Expressions
(The numbers refer to the inscriptions)

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

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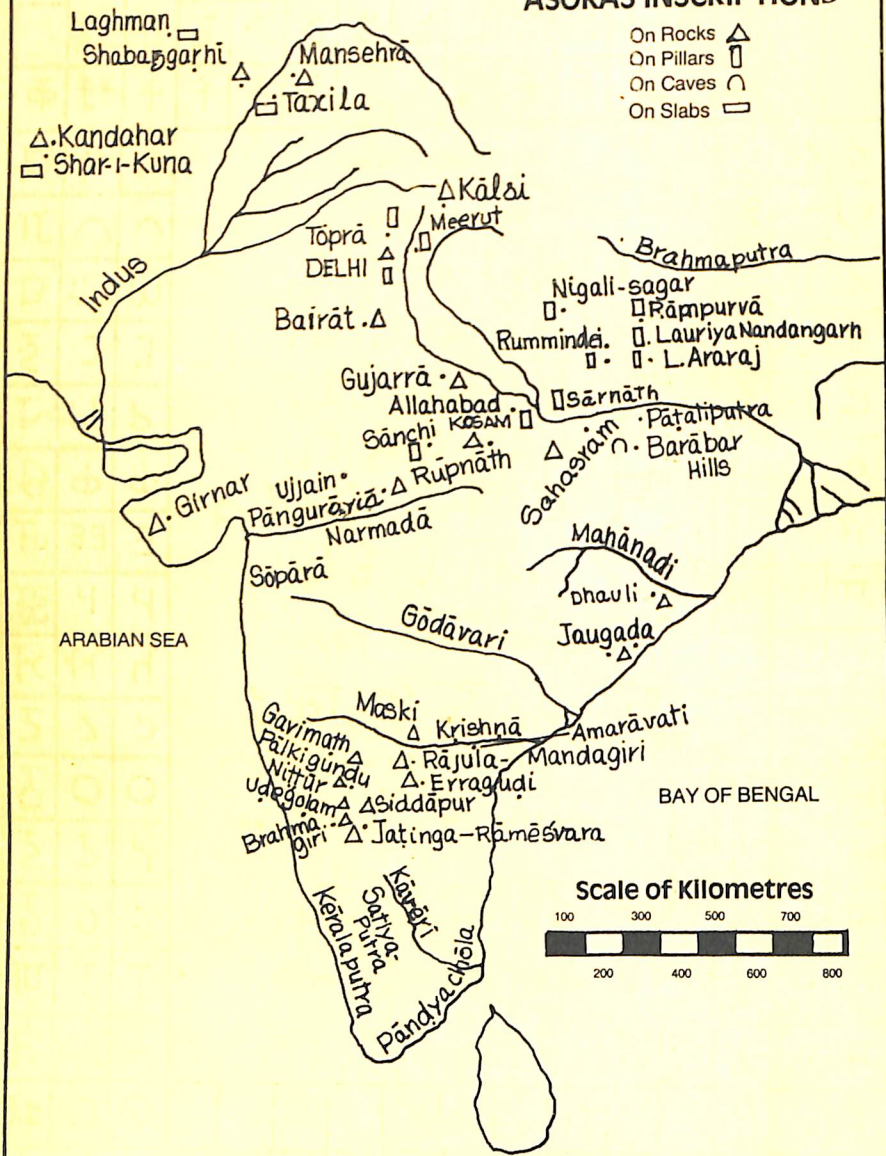
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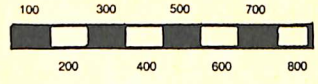
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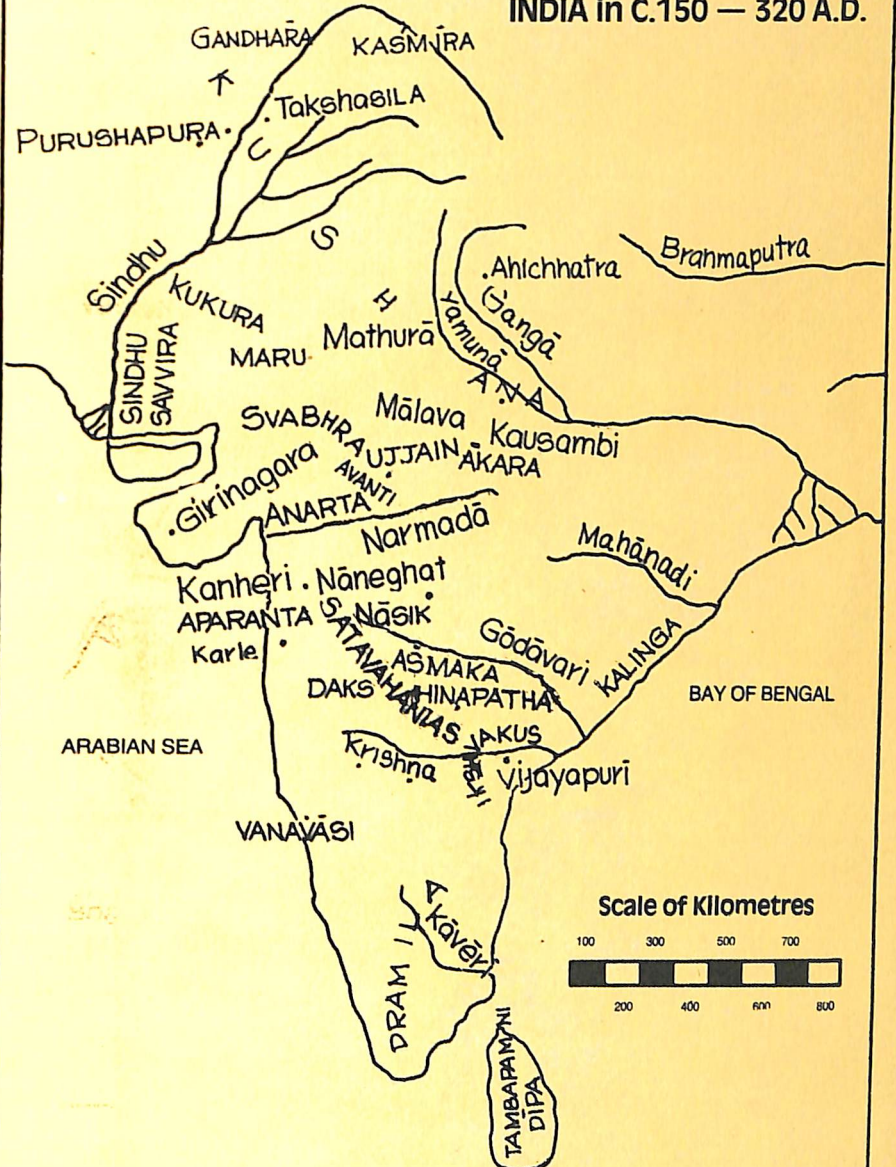
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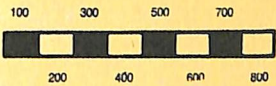
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